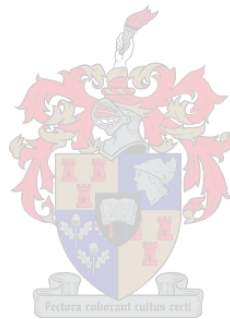


**The Training, Role and Challenges of Female Peacekeepers: Experiences of Peacekeepers  
from the Zambia Police Service  
and the Zambia Army**

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*Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Sociology in the  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*

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March 2016

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## ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, there has been a shift from state security to human security, which gave rise to a more people-centred approach to security. Within this context, feminist scholars started to advocate for a more gendered dimension to human security and for the expanded role of women in peace processes, including peacekeeping. This was associated with the realisation that war affects men and women differently, and having more women in the military and in peacekeeping is not only necessary, but essential to improve the operational effectiveness of the peacekeeping mission. Women are said to make a number of contributions to peacekeeping such as increasing the ability to address Sexually Gender Based Violence (SGBV); improve access to local population; improvement in gathering community based intelligence; and enhancing gender equality and non-discrimination. While this may be the case, women face a number of challenges that hinder them from contributing effectively to peacekeeping operations (PKOs), and many of these claims are not substantiated with empirical evidence.

This study interrogates these claims by examining the training, role and challenges women peacekeepers face in order to see whether they are making a unique contribution to peacekeeping. The main research question for this study is: How are women in the Zambia Police and military prepared for peacekeeping missions, in what roles are they typically utilised, and what challenges do they face? To begin with, the recruitment of women in the Zambia Army and Zambia Police are based on principles of gender equality without consideration of gender difference. Hence women are not recruited on the basis of specific female traits. Once recruited women are socialised into the military in the same way as men. The culture of police and military institution is masculine and women are expected to acquire these traits, which in essence dilutes femininity. The persistence of patriarchy in host countries also presents a real challenge in as far as the utilisation of women peacekeepers is concerned in the sense that the presence of female peacekeepers and the message they carry do not help to change the gender relations in the host country. Added to this, there are security concerns in the host states that limit the contributions that female peacekeepers can make to peacekeeping. Further, the inadequate training that female peacekeepers undergo inhibits the contributions that women can make to PKOs.

In this regard, important differences between military and police personnel emerge. It is clear that in general, peacekeepers from the police are more sensitive to gender issues than the military peacekeepers. This is due to the nature of their roles and functions. However women in both these security services face a number of challenges that affect their optimal utilisation. In order to overcome these challenges this study recommends that the military and the police need to improve gender training for peacekeepers, should value feminine traits, recognise difference and create an environment which is conducive to women.

## OPSOMMING

Sedert die 1990's was daar 'n verskuiwing van menslike veiligheid wat aanleiding gegee het tot 'n meer mensgesentreerde benadering tot sekuriteit. Binne hierdie konteks, het feministe begin om te pleit vir 'n meer geslagsbenadering tot menslike veiligheid en vir die uitgebreide rol van vroue in vredesprosesse, insluitende vredesoperasies. Dit het gepaard gegaan met die besef dat oorlog mans en vroue verskillend raak en dat meer vroue in die weermag en in vredesoperasies nie net nodig is nie, maar noodsaaklik is om die operasionele doeltreffendheid van die vredesending te verbeter. Daar is volhou dat vroue 'n aantal bydraes tot vredesoperasies maak soos die verhoging van die vermoë om seksueel geslagsgebaseerde geweld (SGBV) aan te spreek; verbeterde toegang tot die plaaslike bevolkings; verbeterde versameling van gemeenskapsgebaseerde intelligensie; en die verbetering van geslagsgelykheid en vermindering van diskriminasie. Terwyl dit die geval mag wees, is daar verskeie uitdagings wat vroue verhinder om doeltreffend bydraes tot vredesoperasies (VOs) te lewer en baie van hierdie eise is nie gestaaf met empiriese bewyse nie.

Hierdie studie ondervra hierdie eise deur ondersoek in te stel in verband met die opleiding, rol en uitdagings wat vroue in die gesig staar in vredesmagte en om te sien of hulle wel 'n unieke bydrae tot vredesoperasies maak. Om mee te begin, wys die studie uit dat die werwing van vroue vir die Zambiese Leer en Zambiese polisie gebaseer is op die beginsels van geslagsgelykheid, sonder inagneming van geslagverskille. Vroue word nie gewerf op grond van spesifieke vroulike eienskappe nie. Hierna word vroue gesosialiseer in die weermag in die dieselfde manier as mans. Die kultuur van beide die polisie en instellings is manlik en vroue word verwag om hierdie eienskappe aan te neem wat ten wese vroulikheid verskraal. Die volharding van patriargie in

gasheerlande bied ook 'n groot uitdaging in so ver dit die benutting van vroue vredesmagte betref. Die teenwoordigheid van vroulike vredesmagte en die boodskap wat hulle dra, het min impak op die geslag verhoudings in die gasheerland. Bykomend hiertoe is daar bekommernis oor die veiligheid van vroue in vredesoperasies in die gasheer lande, wat hul bydraes verder beperk. Verder, die onvoldoende opleiding wat vroulike vredesmagte ondergaan, inhibeer die bydraes wat vroue kan maak vir vredesoperasies.

In hierdie verband, is daar belangrike verskille tussen die militêre en polisie personeel. Dit is duidelik dat in die algemeen vredesmagte van die polisie meer sensitief vir geslagskwessies is as die militêre vredesmagte. Dit is as gevolg van die aard van hul rolle en funksies. Nieteenstaande is daar uitdagings wat vroue in albei hierdie sekuriteit dienste in die gesig staar en wat hul optimale benutting beïnvloed. Ten einde hierdie uitdagings aan te spreek, beveel hierdie studie aan dat beide die weermag en die polisie geslag opleiding vir vredesmagte verbeter, dat die waarde van die vroulike eienskappe erken word en dat 'n omgewing wat bevorderlik is vir vroue geskep word.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMES

DPKO	-	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
GBV	-	Gender Based Violence
IDPs	-	Internally Displaced Persons
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PKO	-	Peacekeeping Operations
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SGBV	-	Sexually Gender Based Violence
UN	-	United Nations
UNAMID	-	African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNMISS	-	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	-	United Nations Security Council Resolution

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This introductory chapter aims to provide an overall contextualisation of the study. It begins with the background to the study, before outlining the research problem, rationale and objectives. Thereafter the research design and methodology are discussed followed by the significance of the study. The aspects of authorisation and ethical clearance are also stated followed by limitations of the study. The chapter ends with a section on the chapter outline of the study.

### **1.2 Background**

The continued occurrence and perpetuity of war in many parts of the world has caused devastating effects on men, women and children. The effects of these wars on men and women differ. While men are most frequently drawn into these conflicts, women and children are most often forced to leave their homes, become victims of sexual abuse and human trafficking, subject to psychological and physical violence and sometimes forced to join armed groups. When the wars end and post conflict reconstruction commences, it is women who face the challenge of rebuilding infrastructure, reconstructing the broken connections within their communities, and having to rebuild family relations, values and customs (Conoway,2006:1; Mackey,2003:218; Turshen, 2007).

This recognition that war affects men and women differently, has meant that many actors in peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes have called for gender mainstreaming and gender balancing in the operations of the UN including UN peacekeeping (Karim &Beardsley, 2013) in the sense that the experiences of women give us insights into matters of war and peace (Wibben, 2011; Sjoberg & Via, 2010; Enloe, 2007; Tickner, 2005, 1992; Enloe, 2000, 1990).Significant commitments by the international community have been made towards the realisation of women's, rights, their protection and participation in all stages of peace processes such as for instance, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Similarly, in 1995 the Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action called upon the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) to undertake a series of measures to advance the gender balance and gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping missions. This plan of action among other things called for recruitment

of a higher number of women in high-level positions, setting an ambitious target of 50/50 representation by the year 2015 (Bertolazzi, 2010:8).

This was sanctioned by the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325, 2000), adopted in October 2000. This was the first resolution in the history of the UN which refers to the consequences of armed conflict on women and which emphasise the need for equal participation of women in all the processes of peacekeeping and peace building. The resolution calls on member states to perform the following: (1); guarantee that more women be involved in decision making processes of peace building and peace keeping; (2); develop peacekeeping training programs which include the gender perspective; (3); protect women from gender based violence and especially from rape and all forms of sexual abuse and (4); to include a gender perspective into the UN reports of peace building and implementation of programs (UNSCR 1325, 2000). Despite these commitments, they have not yielded the expected results, especially in terms of increasing the numbers and participation of women in peacekeeping.

In order to achieve gender equality, there is need for both gender mainstreaming and gender balancing in the operations of the UN. However, the emphasis seems to be more on gender balancing than gender mainstreaming as the emphasis tends to be on the equal representation of men and women in the operations of the UN including peacekeeping. The call to involve female police and military peacekeepers are based on liberal feminist equal rights arguments with the emphasis on legal reforms and fairness, while gender mainstreaming is rooted in radical feminism that acknowledges gender difference, as well as the need to address patriarchy and the factors that subordinate women to men and perpetuate abuse (Simić, 2010:196; Stiehm, 2001:42).

Against this brief background, this study set out to establish why it is that women are still under represented in peacekeeping<sup>1</sup> missions despite the commitment to gender equality, and to evaluate whether it is patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities that undermine their ability to make a significant contribution to peacekeeping missions.

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<sup>1</sup> The word 'peacekeeping' is used interchangeably with 'peacekeeping mission' 'peace operation' and 'peacekeeping operation'

### 1.3 Rationale for the study

Many calls have been made by the UN for member states to increase the number of female peacekeepers both in the military and the police (Noonan, 2012:1). A review of the available literature however shows that most of the arguments calling for an increase in the number of female peacekeepers are based on both equal rights perspective and differential arguments, with the latter focusing on essentialist arguments that women need to be included in peacekeeping operations precisely because they are female and possess certain feminine traits (Simić, 2013:2; Simić, 2010:189; Stiehm 2001:42). Evidence also suggests that the mere presence of women does not improve the situation in that women peacekeepers may begin to behave like their male counterparts, and that the presence of female peacekeepers does not regulate male peacekeepers' behaviour (Simić, 2013:3). The ideal role of female peacekeepers is also complicated by the fact that women make a small percentage of peacekeepers, and by the fact that they operate within a masculine environment and therefore cannot be expected to improve the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping operations (PKOs). Further the victims of sexual gender based violence (SGBV) may not be gender sensitive so that what matters to them is the uniform (Simić, 2010).

Evidence to support the view that women peacekeepers are making a difference in peacekeeping operations is therefore both lacking and conflicting (Jennings, 2011:5-7). The evidence is largely based on isolated accounts and therefore systematic knowledge is needed about the exact nature of women's role in peacekeeping missions. According to Lopes, "we cannot understand how to make gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations more effective without exploring the gendered discursive practices and attitudes implicit within peacekeeping" (Lopes, 2011:2). Similarly, little is known about the training of female peacekeepers in particular, and whether or not this training is sufficient and relevant. Some studies for instance have shown that women do not receive training on gender issues (Lyytikäinen, 2007; Mackey, 2003). The challenges that female peacekeepers undergo in peacekeeping missions also needs to be further explored so that future PKOs can be enhanced. Despite the fact that some studies have shown that women contribute to the success of PKOs, the idea that there should be equal participation of women and men in these missions has raised concerns (Odanović, 2000:71). At present there appears to be little substantive empirical evidence to show that women make a unique contribution to peacekeeping.

Further, Cordell (2011) and other scholars including international organisations to which Zambia belongs, such as the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN) have all called for more empirical evidence on the utilisation of women in PKOs (Cordell, 2011a:37; Olsson, 2000:12). Yet, there has been very few empirical studies on the role and utilisation of female peacekeepers on the African continent, except perhaps for South Africa (Heineken, 2013, Alchin, 2014). No studies have been done on the Zambia Police and military personnel even though Zambia makes a significant contribution to UN peacekeeping. As such, little is known about the experiences that Zambian female peacekeepers undergo in terms of their training, role and the challenges they face while on peacekeeping missions. This knowledge is necessary in order to prepare future Zambian female peacekeepers to meet their expected roles and to ensure their optimal utilisation.

#### **1.4 Research questions and objectives**

The main research question this study seeks to explore is: Firstly, how are women in the Zambia Police and military prepared for peacekeeping missions, in what roles are they typically utilised and what challenges do they face? Also, whether this differs for police and military women. The sub research questions are:

1. How are the selection and recruitment of peacekeepers done?
2. What kind of training do peacekeepers undergo?
3. What is the role of woman police and military peacekeepers?
4. Why are women peacekeepers still underrepresented in peacekeeping missions?
5. How do the experiences of police woman peacekeepers compare with that of woman military peacekeepers in terms of peacekeeping training undergone, the role performed, and the challenges faced in peacekeeping missions?

In order to answer the main research question, the following research objectives are outlined:

1. To examine the current debates affecting the utilisation of women in the police and military from different feminist perspectives.
2. To review the literature on current debates that underlie the reasons to include more women in peacekeeping operations and the motivations for this.

3. To examine the debates on women in peacekeeping within the Zambian context in terms of the reasons for increasing the number of women in the forces, how they are trained, and where they are deployed and in what contexts.
4. To interview men and women of the police and military to obtain their views on why the number of women in the police and military peacekeeping missions remain small, how they were prepared for peacekeeping missions in terms of their training, where they were deployed, and what challenges they experienced and whether they thought women were making a difference in terms of the claims that are being made in the literature.
5. To compare the experiences of female military peacekeepers with that of female police peacekeepers in terms of the role played, training undergone and the challenges faced.

### **1.5 Research methodology**

This is a qualitative research study aimed at capturing the experiences of peacekeepers. This strategy is appropriate in that it elucidates the lived experiences of social subjects, in this case those of male and female peacekeepers. Qualitative data was collected from male and female peacekeepers serving in the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army through face to face (one on one) interviews except for 3 participants who were interviewed as a group. Non-probability sampling was used and the set criteria ensured that the sample was diverse in terms of rank and gender. All the interviews were personally transcribed and the data analysed thematically, based on research objectives and sub questions. The methodology is discussed in more detail in chapter 4, *Research Design and Methodology*.

### **1.6 Significance of study**

From the point of view of the UN, more women should be included in peacekeeping and this includes female military and police peacekeepers. However, the response of troop contributing countries (TCCs) including Zambia is still slow. If women really make a difference, then it is important to support this argument with evidence. This is important because up to now, the value of female peacekeepers is contested. Again more should be said about the training of female peacekeepers, whether or not this training is adequate and consistent with the expected roles of women peacekeepers, as well as the challenges that these female peacekeepers face. The response

to all these issues should be evidence based and it is hoped that this study will make a contribution to this debate based on empirical evidence.

The study can also serve as a case study for comparative purposes. In this way universal and case specific challenges can be identified and this knowledge may be useful to practitioners and policy makers in peacekeeping. In addition, the study does not only add to existing knowledge, it is also a non-western contribution that can inform current debates.

Further, the study makes a significant contribution to military sociological research and society by providing an insight into the experiences of woman military and police peacekeepers in Sudan and South Sudan peacekeeping missions. The study refutes long standing assumptions and literature regarding the usefulness of female peacekeepers by showing that while these peacekeepers are necessary and useful, they do face challenges which negatively affect their utilisation. For example, woman peacekeepers' lack of gender training and language barriers in host communities makes it difficult for them to make meaningful contributions to peacekeeping missions.

### **1.7 Authorisation and ethical clearance**

Institutional permission<sup>2</sup> was granted by the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army to conduct this study. Upon the receipt thereof, ethical approval for this study was granted by Stellenbosch University in accordance with the protocols associated with conducting research that include humans as subjects. In this regard, the researcher pledged to uphold the ethics of conducting research that includes human participants.

### **1.8 Chapter outline**

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter one, the current chapter contains the background to the study, research rationale, research aim and objectives, brief introduction to the research design and methodology, authorisation and ethical clearance, and chapter outline.

Chapter two is the literature review and theoretical framework. It discusses the theoretical framework that guides the study and thereafter a discussion on the concepts of gender equality and

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<sup>2</sup> See appendix 1 and 2



gender mainstreaming is provided. After this, a discussion on African masculinities is provided. This is followed by discussions on the police and military as gendered and masculine institutions, and on the gendered division of labour in the police and military institutions. This will be followed by discussions on the tasks and skills of peacekeepers, training of peacekeepers and the role of female peacekeepers. Obstacles to gender balancing in peacekeeping are discussed and finally the challenges faced by female peacekeepers.

Chapter three looks at Zambia and United Nations peacekeeping. It begins with a section on gender integration in the Zambia Police and military. There after it looks at a brief history of Zambia in UN peacekeeping and covers debates surrounding the deployment of women. The chapter also looks at the gender dimension of violence in Sudan and South Sudan, the mandates and challenges of the African Union/UN Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).

Chapter four discusses the methodology that this study employs to answer the research questions. It discusses aspects of methods of data collection and analysis, sample size and inclusion criteria and the place where the research was conducted. The chapter also discusses ethical considerations, provides a section that reflects on the research process, and ends with a conclusion.

Chapter five presents the findings of the interviews with peacekeepers according to various themes that emerged in the interviews and the literature.

Chapter six is the discussion where the findings of the study are further analysed and interpreted. It interprets the findings from the study and analyses them in relation to the previous studies and theoretical/conceptual framework. It also presents the conclusions and limitations of the study and ends by making some recommendations in terms of the better utilisation of women in peacekeeping operations.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Introduction

Following the end of the Cold War, security began to be understood differently as it moved from state sovereignty to a much broader definition of security. This gave rise to the concept of ‘human security’ as reflected in the United Nations’ (UN) publication: *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992 (United Nations, 1992). What one notices here is a clear shift from the military and arms to a focus on development particularly human development. However the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1994 is the reference point for many scholars when talking about the new understanding of human security. The report defines human security as “safety from constant threats of hunger, disease crime and repression”. The concept also refers to “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in one’s daily pattern of life such as in the home, work place, community or other environment” (UNDP, 1994).

With the broadening in the definition of security, there has also been a recognition that the security of women is different from that of men. In areas affected by armed conflict, the mandate of most peacekeepers is the protection of the civilian population, and particularly the protection of women and children. This has made way for gender to enter into the security discourse with greater prominence. Nowhere has this been more prevalent but in the police and military. It is now recognised that women have a unique contribution to make to the peace processes. However, their involvement in peace operations continue to be influenced by debates that emphasise women’s suitability or unsuitability for combat. These resonate with the current debate on the utilisation of women in peace operations, especially those deployed under Chapter VII mandate, which entail the use of force.

This chapter looks at theoretical and feminist debates on women and war, masculinities in the African context, masculinity and organisational culture, gender mainstreaming and the value of femininity, the role and value of female peacekeepers, training and preparations for peacekeeping operations, obstacles to gender balancing in UN peacekeeping, and the challenges faced by female peacekeepers. Thereafter a summary is provided.

## 2.2 Theoretical debates on women and war

### 2.2.1 *The biological/emotional /psychological explanations*

Various arguments to do with women and warfare are based on biological and psychological explanations. From the biological perspective it is argued that anatomical, physiological, genetic and cognitive differences between men and women, make men more suitable for warfare (Heineken, 2012:2). For example, men compared to women are 50 percent stronger in terms of their upper body strength and have less body fat (i.e. 15 percent for men and 27 percent for women), are on average 8 to 9 percent taller, 10 percent faster. All these qualities are considered advantageous on the battlefield (Malešević, 2010:276). And because women have less physical strength and speed, it is on these factors that many use as arguments to justify the exclusion of women from combat (Simons, 2001:89-100). Based on biology, it is also argued that men are naturally more suitable for war because they have twenty times more testosterone than women, and this makes them more aggressive, a quality necessary in warfare (Malešević, 2010: 277).

Other biological arguments are based on issues of pregnancy and menstruation (McLean, 2011:22). This is believed to not only make women less suitable for deployment and utilisation in certain roles, but also because doing so places an additional logistical burden on the military in terms of hygiene requirements. To illustrate this point, an example of a contingent of South African peacekeepers deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo is given. These female peacekeepers went in the field for a two weeks mission, but ended up being in the bush for more than six weeks. It is said that the men were able to wash in the river without soap but women had unmet physiological needs. Lacking bathing facilities, it is not only difficult for women to wash in an open river, but to wash without soap makes it even more difficult for them to meet the hygiene standards of their bodies. Again without the resupply of sanitary pads the standards of hygiene become compromised (McLean, 2011:22).

It is also argued that women lack the emotional and psychological strength to cope in peacekeeping missions especially that peacekeeping is viewed in 'traditional combat oriented mind-set' (Sion, 2009:490). Many have claimed that women are unsuitable for combat in the sense that they do not possess the 'aggressiveness' to fight and to kill if necessary nor do they have the ability to withstand

grinding fear and stress associated with the battle field (Heineken, 2002). These arguments are based on views that consider women to be more caring and loving by nature. They may be jittery at the sound of heavy machine guns, cry easily and not be able to kill others. When women are in combat their stress levels rise and this compromises their operational effectiveness and this is not good for the organisation as a whole (McLean, 2011:23). However, while many studies have indicated that women have a lower propensity towards war and aggression, this tendency is attributed to gender socialisation which expects individuals to act like ‘females’ and ‘males’ (Giddens, 2009:292). Females for instance are expected to be more gentle and submissive. This argument comes out strongly under the culturalist perspective provided in the next section.

### *2.2.2 Culturalist perspectives*

The capacity to perform military roles is less determined by biology, but a complex two way causality between biology and culture. It is argued that the real difficulty for the participation of women in the military has little to do with their physical strength and mental ability, but relates to social and cultural issues characterizing a warrior framework (Davies & McKee, 2005). Culturalist explanations do not place any importance on biology and they question the idea that this is a naturally male characteristic. Rather they state that aggression is as a result of different patterns of male and female socialisation. This socialisation which is functionally linked to the division of labour is influenced by culture and is rooted in history, tradition, and on such aspects as prestige and power (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:50). Through different levels of social conditioning boys and girls are socialised to assume different roles, to engage in different activities, and to pursue specific careers (Connell, 2005:13-14; Black, 1994; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994:34; Kanitkah, 1994; Shire, 1994). As such, society moulds boys into future soldiers through stereotyping as well as reinforcing self-identification with the warrior image.

In contrast to boys, girls are expected to be submissive, soft, affectionate and emotional. This kind of cultural conditioning then becomes the chief reason why women across all cultures are excluded from male dominated institutions like the police and military that requires various degrees of aggression. When they are permitted to enter the military or police force, they are assigned tasks deemed appropriate according to their unique feminine qualities. This is why the military and security institutions are the most highly gendered organisations despite pressures aimed at gender

equality. According to Carreiras (2010:472) “the military’s organisational structure is clearly based on gender divisions, both in terms of opportunity and power (hierarchical divisions) and in terms of occupational structure (sexual division of labour)”. This is the same for the police, which is also considered a very masculine institution (Cornwall, 1994:150). It therefore does not matter whether women have proven capabilities that are at par with that of their male counterparts, they are usually clustered in specialisations that are deemed appropriate both biologically and culturally.

In order to undo this arrangement social masculinists strongly argue against the different social and cultural conditioning of girls and boys. They state that masculine norms of aggressiveness, toughness and enduring physical and psychological pain are socially learned and so both men and women can be socialised to acquire these characteristics (de Groot, 2001:23; Goldstein, 2001:69). Similarly, men can be socialised to be more caring, compassionate and conciliatory in terms of traits typically considered more feminine. However, what these positions ignore is how patriarchy influences power relations and the subordination of women. These are more aptly explained by examining the various feminist positions of women in society, and how they play themselves out in both the police and military.

### **2.3 Feminist explanations**

In this regard, there are various perspectives and in the following section, these are briefly outlined.

#### *2.3.1 Liberal/equal rights/integrative feminist perspectives*

The historical starting point for contemporary feminist approaches are based on the assumptions of liberal political theories of the eighteenth century (Calas & Smircich, 2006:228). Liberal feminism looks for explanations of gender inequalities in social and cultural attitudes. An important early contribution to liberal feminism came from the English philosopher John Stuart Mills in his essay ‘The Subjection of Women’ (1869), which called for legal and political equality between the sexes including the right to vote (Giddens, 2009:616). Liberal feminists deny sex differences stating that gender differences are based on sex-role socialisation (cultural explanations), which places women in a subordinate position in society, and which reinforces male domination (Gherardi, 2003:216). Liberal feminism stands for equality between men and women in terms of rights, opportunities and

representation in politics, in work and all other areas of social life. Claiming that women possess the same capabilities as men, liberal feminists call for equality on the basis of sameness, not difference in terms of the sexes (Evans, 1995:13). Liberal or equal rights feminist argue that women have the same capacity as men for moral reasoning and agency, but that patriarchy and especially the sexist patterning of division of labour has historically denied women the opportunity to express and practice this reasoning (Giddens, 2009:616).

When it comes to the military liberal feminists challenge the biological, emotional, psychological and cultural arguments presented above. They argue that women can be as strong and as brave as men. The exclusion of women from the military in general and combat in particular is therefore based on sexism and is aimed at maintaining the status quo of men by preserving male domination. Consequently liberal feminists “stand firm in denying the biological and sociological linkages between men and women” (Hudson, 2002:132). They aim to remove the obstacles that prevent women from reaching their potential and capabilities as women (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009:23). This has led to pressures on both the police and military to open up all positions to women, including combat as the exclusion of women from certain positions is considered unfair and unjustifiable. The push to include and increase the number of women on peace operations is based on the same principles, namely that women have the right to serve on these missions on an equal basis to men.

While liberal feminists have contributed greatly to the advancement of women over the past century, critics charge that they are unsuccessful at addressing the root causes of gender inequality as they do not acknowledge the systematic nature of women’s oppression in society. Liberal feminists focus on the independent deprivations which women suffer such as sexism, discrimination, the ‘glass ceiling’ and unequal pay and by so doing they only draw a partial picture of gender inequality (Giddens,2009:616). As such, they have been accused by radical feminists of encouraging women to accept an unequal society and its competitive character based on masculine standards and values. What this means is that equal rights arguments do not address the underlying power dynamics that render women subordinate to men even where they have been granted equal rights. This is because in essence feminine traits are considered inferior to masculine values.

### 2.3.2 *The differential/radical perspective*

The differential and radical feminist or special qualities perspectives are some of the most pronounced theoretical feminist perspectives in the literature in relation to women and peacekeeping as the emphasis here is placed on the value of certain feminine traits. Feminists driven by these perspectives argue that men and women are different and that this needs to be recognised and valued as it brings a different set of skills and outlook on life. Those advocating for a radical feminist position argue that the patriarchal culture of society that lead to women's subordination needs to be transformed (Hudson, 2002:134-135). They aim at transforming and freeing society from the dominance of patriarchal relations that "diminishes the value of unique female qualities such as greater nurturing, better communicative skills, propensity towards non-violent resolution of conflicts and greater sociability" (Malešević, 2010:290). The aim of radical feminists is not necessarily to compete with men, but to alter the basic structure of society and its organisations (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23).

With respect to differential feminists, their aim is to "change the basic structure of society and its organisations" (Alvesson & Due Billing), and not necessarily to compete with men. Male domination in society including in the military is here rejected. The radical feminist perspective has in fact been more instrumental than the liberal equal rights perspective in pushing for the 'gender agenda' on security sector reform. They argue, for example, that if more women occupy leadership positions in the military, the higher their chances are of influencing security policy and changing the culture of militarism (Schroeder, 2004:4). In terms of women and peacekeeping for example, the assumption that women can make a difference is based on essentialist claims that consider women to be more nurturing, caring, and empathetic and so forth. As such they are able to not only improve peace operations by being more empathetic in terms of their engagement with the local population, but can subdue the aggressive and exploitative conduct of men. Women are seen to be peaceful, less aggressive and conciliatory and all these qualities are desired in peacekeepers (de Groot, 2001:34; Hudson, 2002:135). Such instrumentalist arguments stress the positive impact women can have on operational effectiveness. Hence, the main reasons for recruiting more women in uniform are not premised on equal rights arguments (as above), but on the special contribution they make to the military institution by adding value (Jennings, 2011:4).

Whatever the case (whether gender equality or operational effectiveness), differential feminist arguments appear to be based on existing stereotypes about women and therefore ignore the fact that not all women are peaceful. These assumptions about women also risk relegating women to support roles in peacekeeping operations and may perpetuate “dangerous stereotypes that can be rightly typified as essentialist, reductionist, counterproductive and self-defeating for the feminist project” (Hudson, 2002:135). When qualities that women possess such as of nurturing and caring are taken to be natural in the sense that they possess such qualities by virtue of being female, these qualities are not appreciated or are undervalued because it does not require any effort on the part of women to acquire such qualities. However the so called natural abilities of men such as bravery are highly valued. This is because the security forces (police and military) are both very masculine institutions. It should be noted that these assumptions (unquestioned differences between men and women) have been discredited by other feminists including radical feminists. Before looking at masculinity and organisational culture (of police and military institutions), a discussion on women and war cannot be complete without understanding masculinities (especially hegemonic masculinities). For the sake of this study, which looks at African peacekeepers operating in African host countries, it is important to address masculinity in the African context. I now turn to this discussion.

#### **2.4 Masculinities in the African context**

The concept of masculinity as contrasted with femininity refers to “characteristics of, and appropriate to, the male sex” (Scott & Marshall, 2009:447). Behaviour traits or qualities appropriate to men differ from one society to another and from one period of time to the other. However, such qualities as aggressiveness, risk taking and heterosexuality seem to define a man in many if not all societies including African ones. A distinction is made between hegemonic masculinities and subordinate masculinities. The former is of special interest here. Masculinities acquire the status of hegemony if they become dominant and reach ascendancy through culture, institutions and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832).



The concept of hegemonic masculinities has had a profound influence on studies relating to gender and issues of masculinities and femininities (Morrel & Jewkes, 2012:11). In this regard, academic work initially focused on relations between men without considering the relationship of men with women. Later however as in many other places, the content of hegemonic masculinity was identified with oppressive attitudes and practices and women in particular were identified as victims of male abuse and oppression. While there is no one form of hegemonic masculinity, this concept is associated with a specific strategy for the subordination and oppression of women in the writings of scholars such as Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985), Connell (1987), Cockburn (1991), Lichterman (1989), and Messner (1992). Here a particular form of masculinity becomes hegemonic if “its exaltation stabilises a structure of dominance and oppression in the gender order as a whole.” (Donaldson 1993:647). In Africa in particular, a pattern of oppression of men over women, physically, sexually, economically, and otherwise is regarded as a virtue and a defining characteristic of a man. Men inhabit positions of power and reproduce the social relationships that perpetuate their dominance through culture, institutions, and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832).

Under this arrangement not only do men control women, but they also subordinate and control other men. Further hegemonic masculinity is not only propelled by men, it also receives support from women (Chenjerai, 1994:447). This is especially true in Africa where women to a lesser or greater extent support cultural values that enhance male dominance or patriarchy. For example I have heard statements from Zambian women which suggest that if a man does not beat his wife, then he does not love her, and that a woman should expect her husband to have at least another sexual partner besides her and that a husband’s unfaithfulness does not (and should not) break a home or marriage. When it comes to the military and the police, the same tendencies prevailing in society are carried over to these organisations and in more pronounced sense in that these institutions emphasise and embody masculine norms. As such they see feminine values as a threat to their organizational culture and operational effectiveness. To succeed, women have to assimilate hegemonic masculinities in these rigid institutions, which can work against their professional and personal development.

What is important to recognise is that hegemonic masculinities need not always be negative in the sense of being associated with violence and fostering gender inequality. It is possible to have masculinities which support a culture of peace and gender equality (Morrell, 1998:10). Indeed Africans have had innocent and positive hegemonic masculinities such ‘honourable restraint’, used in strategies of non-violent protests against white rule in South Africa (Carton & Morrel, 2012:51) and the avoidance of gossip among the Zimbabwean males (Chenjerai, 1994:150). To give an example of the later, men who were found to be gossiping were considered not real men and men generally encouraged one another to avoid gossip in their discourses. While avoidance of gossip became a virtue that men wanted to be associated with, this character trait became hegemonic without necessarily being associated with violence or other behaviour that discourages gender equality. This is why Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:844) call for a positive hegemony considering that a hegemonic masculinity characterised by violence is not self-reproducing, but can be challenged with concerted efforts from both men and women. This is possible because many men and women are becoming aware of the oppressive nature of patriarchy which results from negative hegemony and are contesting it (Connell, 2005:2010). The desired masculinities should support a culture of peace, racial and gender equality (Morrel & Richter, 2004; Morrell, 1998:10). However the task is practically not easy especially in police and military institutions because their organisational culture is premised on masculinity and this affects the ability of women to function as equals.

## **2.5 Masculinity and organisational culture**

Despite the emphasis placed on gender equality, the removal of restrictions on the utilisation of women in the military and police and the recognition of the importance of gender in all aspects of security sector reform and peacekeeping, the success of bringing about a more gender-balanced perspective remains elusive. This is largely due to the fact that both the military and police are masculine institutions that value masculinity above femininity. For women to succeed in these environments they have to assume masculine traits and in the police and military, this is typically rooted in ‘hegemonic masculinities’. This refers to the “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell, 1995:38).

The police and military provide a favourable environment for this form of masculinity as it is supported by institutional values (Kronsell, 2005:281). Aggressiveness, risk-taking, heterosexuality and rationality are embodied in both police and military culture. Other qualities include loyalty to leaders, willingness to protect the weak and vulnerable, strength and skill such as knowledge of tactics, planning and effective use of weaponry as well as physical courage, including bravery in facing death (Malešević, 2010:289). Women in the police and military are expected to assume masculine traits to meet the notion of the ideal police or military 'officer' or 'woman' (Sudgen, 2005).

Women are expected to assume a form of hegemonic masculinity as this attracts more honour and yields more power than other forms of masculinities. "Military and security institutions have been historic sites of hegemonic masculinity, highly relevant to understanding gender relations more broadly, not least because the military, defence and security sectors have been connected centrally to nation state building processes and other activities of international relations" (Kronsell, 2005:282). It is important to note that once a particular set of behaviours has been established as a norm within an institution, it becomes difficult to critique, because in part, normativity makes certain practices appear natural. This is why for instance policing and soldiering are considered as masculine tasks by many and that the link between these tasks and masculinity is natural. This is so because the social construction of soldiering and policing borders around images of danger, and emphasise the need for physical strength and it is men that are considered physically strong.

Security institutions in general and the police and military institutions in particular attach higher value to masculine qualities than to feminine ones. When society's gender ideology insists on the absolute difference of masculinity from femininity and rewards people according to this distinction, a question is raised as to whether or not masculine qualities are superior to feminine ones. In today's police and military institutions, it seems proper to state that these qualities are not only complimentary, but should be equally valued considering the expanded role of the police and military institutions and the shift in focus towards human security and the protection of the population. However, the gendered and masculine nature of the military and the police creates challenges for female personnel.

To begin with is the fact that these institutions have been considered masculine for a long time (Carreiras, 2010; Kronsell, 2005:283, Segal, 1995:758; McElhinny, 1994). Added to this, the reception of women into these institutions has been hostile, and this appears to grow as large numbers of women enter the police and the military and come to challenge the notions of masculinity and femininity (Segal, 1995:769). The police and military institutions are considered a 'man's world' and women are regarded as strangers and may dilute this masculinity. As they lack masculine characteristics, women are not viewed as adding value or making any meaningful contribution in a masculine institution, except in certain roles where they are considered more suitable. Women face a paradoxical situation, either to maintain womanliness or deny it all together and become one of the men. In many cases, the latter option is necessary for promotion and to receive other rewards such as being recognised as a good soldier or police officer, and to avoid the effects of being a token (Rimalt, 2007:1098). In the military, for example, women are often seen to embrace those masculine bodily and discursive practices associated with masculinity in order to be accepted. They therefore come under tremendous performance pressure if they are to be accepted and respected as equals.

In masculine institutions such as the military and the police, women often have to work much harder than men in order to be promoted and even when they are genuinely promoted, their promotion may come with suspicion. In some instances a woman's contribution no matter how good it may be, may not be valued by her supervisors and in many cases these supervisors are men (Heinecken, 2013:10). Women are also exposed to sexual exploitation and harassment in a masculine and male dominated institution and this is true of the military and the police (Rimalt, 2005:198; Martin & Jurik, 2006:51; Brown, 1998:266). Worse still is the fact that when women react to sexual harassment, they are accused of being at fault and surprisingly these accusations sometimes come from fellow women.

Further even if women manage to enter male dominated institutions, they do not make any meaningful influence in these institutions considering their low numbers in groups with highly skewed sex ratios. Where they are isolated and invisible, they find it difficult to form coalitions and to affect the culture of the group (Kanter, 1977:209). However, as has been stated numbers alone are insufficient to change the organisational culture of an institution. Many women may be in the

police and the military, but lack the authority. The challenge is to change the gendered ideology that prioritise the masculine over feminine and men over women (Rimalt, 2005:1098-1099).

Undeniably, both the military and police remain highly gendered organisations (Morash, M. & Haarr, 2012; Sasson-Levy & Amram-Katz, 2007; Satos, 2004; Sasson Levy, 2003; Kimmel, 2000). But what exactly does it mean to say that an institution is gendered? Firstly, organisations are said to be gendered when they have been defined, conceptualised and structured in such a way that a distinction between masculinity and femininity is made (Carreiras, 2010; Britton, 2000:149). Secondly organisations are said to be gendered if they are male or female dominated. Thirdly, organisations are gendered if they “are symbolically and ideologically described and conceived in terms of a discourse that draws on hegemonic masculinities and femininities (Britton, 2000:420). These are explained in more detail below.

In the first usage organisations are said to be gendered if their structure and their organisational logic is based on assumptions about gender. In this case advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion as well as meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of the distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine (Acker, 1991:167; 1992). In this regard every organisation has a gendered subculture observable among other things in written work rules and systems of job evaluation. In this sense there is no gender neutral job description considering that every job has to be filled by real workers. In this case the ‘real worker’ is the man. The man is the one who performs a full time job while his wife attends to his personal life and children. “The concept of a job is.....implicitly a gendered concept even though organisational logic presents it as gender neutral. The job already contains the gender-based division of labour and the separation between the public and private sphere. It assumes a particularly gendered organisation of domestic life and social production” (Acker, 1991:170). From this analysis organisations are masculinized –they are built by men and represent men’s interest. What this means in terms of the police and military institutions is that it is masculine traits (braveness, physical strength and aggression for instance) that are valued in these institutions. Male soldiers and police officers have an advantage over their female counterparts in terms of promotions and other rewards because of possessing these attributes. Even though women today are slowly being promoted into higher ranks, they continue to be underrepresented.

The second usage where organisations are said to be gendered is in the sense that they are male or female dominated, which is the case for both the police and the military. Across the globe the number of women in the police and military are limited. (Heinecken, 2013; Patten & Parker, 2011; Carreiras, 2010; Kronsell, 2005). In essence, women are underrepresented in these institutions primarily because they lack masculine traits. Even if women are in higher numbers they cannot be appreciated unless they acquire masculine traits (Britton, 2000; Williams, 1995; Yoder, 1991).

The third usage of the concept 'gendered organisation' is situated at a more discursive level. Here an organisation is considered gendered to the extent that it is symbolically and ideologically conceived in terms of gender divisions (Britton, 2000:420). Both the police and military institutions are viewed as such, they have a gendered division of labour in the sense that women and men are assigned different tasks based on femininity and masculinity respectively. In this regard, police and military institutions are not only gendered and masculine, they also have a gendered division of labour. For instance in Britain, America and elsewhere, there has been a gradual but reluctant extension of their role. In America women were originally used as matrons to handle female offenders (Brown, 1998).

In the case of the police, a majority of female officers are assigned to work with women, or to handle juvenile and clerical work and the tendency has been that very few women are found in detective work and anti-robbery squads (Susan & Jurik, 2006). This is because the social construction of policing in many cases incorporates images of danger and emphasises the need for physical strength (Brown, 1998: 274). Women are considered to be physically weak and not suitable for manly duties such as street patrols, anti-robbery squads and other duties involving physical confrontation with criminals or offenders. Although progress has been made in accommodating women police officers in a full range of police duties, a majority of them are confined to the so called 'feminine' duties (Martin, 1990). The gendered nature of police work also highlights the fact that women's work is not valued as much as that of men.

However, to confine women to a limited range of duties on account of their sex is not only unrealistic, but disadvantages the entire institution. Policing today in many countries encompasses

a wide range of duties including law enforcement, crime prevention, social work and therapy. Therefore, it is not only those duties that require physical strength that should be valued. In fact, cases of physical confrontation are rare today and the emphasis is and should be on rationality and professionalism. Even if women are physically weaker than men, female police officers can rely on institutional power, that is, on the power that is vested in them as police officers which is gender neutral. Police work also requires people to have communication skills and with training, women can perform even better than men in this area (Susan & Jurik, 2006).

The division of labour in the military is more pronounced than in the police because of the continued emphasis placed on preparation for war in the training and socialisation of soldiers. Even today, despite the shift towards peacekeeping, the ideal soldier is someone who is powerful, brave and aggressive (Heineken, 2013). The main tasks of the military are considered to be physically demanding and dangerous and because women are considered to be physically and psychologically weak, they are considered more suited to support roles (Dittmer and Alpelt, 2008; Rimalt, 2007:1103; Davies and McKee, 2005). In many cases women are excluded from particularly combat and combat related duties on account that they are considered by some to be physically and psychologically unsuitable (Rimalt, 2007:1103). It is argued that “the full inclusion of women and particularly their access to combat roles results in force degradation and a general lowering of standards to the point where modern militaries largely stand to forfeit their sustained deployability and war fighting capabilities” (Maninger, 2008:9). The position is taken that despite improvements in technology, combat still remains a “physically and psychologically extraordinarily strenuous experience” (Maninger, 2008:9). Essentially these arguments resonate with the masculinist and biological arguments provided above.

Emotional arguments have also been used to exclude women from combat and combat related duties. It is argued that women are too emotional, and that because of this they are ineffective in combat. Women for example are said to be ‘soft hearted’ and ‘kind’ and that they easily cry and can therefore not kill an enemy. This is based on the assumption that women are maternal by nature, and so they are more inclined towards duties of care and duties of care go along with emotion. Even though recently many western countries including Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, the United States and the United Kingdom have opened combat positions to women

(Segal, 1995:764), a position is held that the opening of western militaries to women in general and in combat positions in particular is largely based on questionable false assumptions about gender and the nature of future war. The false assumption is that improvement in military technology will lessen the need for physical strength of combatants, and therefore women who are considered to be physically weak can now serve in these combat positions.

One can argue that women should be given an opportunity to serve in combat positions since they did this effectively in the past. Women under military necessity have proved themselves capable, even though in many cases they have been discriminated against including dismissal from the military soon after the end of war (Goldstein, 2001). The principle of gender equality demands that women be given an opportunity to do what they want. This does not mean that there should be no criteria for inclusion into combat, but that the selection criteria should be objective, so that if individual women qualify, they should be given an opportunity to serve. Indeed not all women can qualify, but this is also true of men in the sense that not all men can qualify to serve in combat and combat support roles. To limit women to the so called feminine roles in the military, and to regard them as victims in need of protection when they should protect, is a disservice to them and a hindrance on their aspirations.

Moreover in many countries which include the United States of America and Israel, people who have served in the military and especially in combat roles are highly esteemed, they are regarded as real citizens prepared to die for their country. But only men in many cases have been recipients of this symbolic glory because women are excluded from combat roles. For example in Israel, “the fact that only men were regarded as potential military combatants intensified the symbolic glorification of masculinity in the public sphere, and as a practical matter, excluded women from positions of power and influence inside and outside the military. While the Jewish male who served in combat roles and risked his life for the collective was marked as the ultimate patriot, the Jewish woman in her auxiliary roles was only freeing a man for combat” (Rimalt, 2007:1103).

Therefore not including women in the military in general and combat in particular is not only limiting her prospects in the military (in the sense that duties not related to combat attract only lower ranks), but also her future social and political opportunities. In America and Israel for



instance, those that served in combat and were military leaders have ended up being political leaders in their countries even to the level of president (Rimalt, 2007:1106; Goldstein, 2001:39). When women are excluded from combat units, it means that they can only attain lower ranks since higher ranks are only found in combat units. This limits their opportunities inside and outside the military.

## **2.6 Gender mainstreaming and valuing femininity in peacekeeping**

### *2.6.1 Gender mainstreaming and international protocols*

In an attempt to change this and ensure that women's needs and contributions become equally valued to that of men, there has been a shift away from gender equality to gender mainstreaming. While the concepts gender equality and gender mainstreaming are often conflated, arguments around gender equality are most frequently rooted in feminist equal right principles, whereas gender mainstreaming encompasses the ideals as espoused in radical feminism, which entails giving recognition and value to the voices of women as different to those of men. Without this, gender equality which is rooted in patriarchy cannot be achieved. Gender mainstreaming refers to

“The process of assessing the implications for men and for women of any planned action including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetrated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (DPKO, 2006:6).

Gender mainstreaming was developed as a major global strategy in order to promote gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action from the Fourth United Nations World Conference Women held in Beijing in 1995 (UN,2002). However the most important resolution which showed the relationship between women, peace and security was the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR, 1325) which was passed in the year 2000. The resolution has 18 points mandating gender mainstreaming in all UN activities especially peacekeeping including the need for states to increase women's representation in conflict resolution and reconstruction (UNSCR 1325, 2000). Other resolutions passed on gender mainstreaming were the UNSCR 1888 (2009) and UNSCR 1960 (2010) which state that women are better able to deal with cases of sexually gender based violence (SGBV), and UNSCR 1820 (2008) which acknowledged sexual violence as a tool

of war. Hence all these resolutions called for more involvement of women peacekeepers to address the gendered dimension of war.

Gender mainstreaming is one of those essentially technical concepts that has managed to achieve a relatively wide currency in a short time, and is frequently used in policy documents (Dally, 2005:433). One of the principles of gender mainstreaming is based on the assumption that political, economic and social problems have a gender dimension in terms of cause and effect and therefore a gender approach aimed at finding solutions to these problems is necessary. The way gender mainstreaming has been introduced is essentially top-down, which means that the onus for its implementation lies in the hands of female and male executives. However, the responsibility for realising gender mainstreaming is system wide, and is generally associated with some form of accountability measures that need to be monitored continuously (ECOSOC, 1997). Gender mainstreaming also requires that as much as possible, efforts be made to ensure that women participate broadly at all levels of decision making. If women are excluded in decision making positions, it is unlikely that their perceptions, experiences, knowledge and interests will be reflected in legislation, policies and programs that are aimed at eliminating inequality.

Beginning in the 1980s gender equality has received increased attention at international forums. There seems to be a shared understanding among states that gender equality is a necessary condition for achieving sustainable human development (Kardam2004:86). Gender equality has been embodied in international legal instruments. Many countries have signed the international protocols and conventions in order to have full, equal and beneficial integration of women in national and international development agendas. The International protocols that many countries globally have ratified include: The United Nations Charter (1945), the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1957), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), the United Nations Charter on the Rights of a Child (CRC) (1989), and Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 – Global Action for Women Towards Sustainable and Equitable Development (1992) (Milimo et al., 2004:53). Among the protocols the definitive legal instrument on gender equality is CEDAW, which was unanimously adopted by the UN General Assembly on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1979, and came into force in September 1981 following its ratification by the 20<sup>th</sup> state (Kardam, 2004: 88). By 2004, CEDAW was ratified by 174 countries. Many countries globally

have taken a step further to domesticate some of the international protocols. All these efforts are aimed at the prohibition of discrimination against women and the promotion of equality between the sexes.

International protocols are important because in principle they task governments to identify and eliminate obstacles to gender equality through political, legal, and bureaucratic measures (Kardam, 2004:89). The security sector in general and the police and military in particular are expected to perform and pursue agendas in line with the dictates of international protocols and conventions. Indeed in many countries efforts are being made to ensure that gender equality is promoted in the police and the military. Women for instance constitute the composition of military personnel in many if not all African countries (McLean, 2011:16), and the same is true of western countries (Carreiras, 2004:1). Further higher positions at least in principle can be attained by women in these institutions. All these measures are necessary in security sector reform as they insure that gender mainstreaming and ultimately gender equality are achieved in the police and the military in particular.

Even though many states have ratified and domesticated some international protocols on gender, much needs to be done to achieve gender equality. The translation of international protocols to local levels remain elusive and one can see many gaps between global norms and local responses. This may be expected considering that the implementation of a gender regime was is not an initiative that originated with States. Rather, this was imposed on them by International Governmental Organisations (IGOs) and some western industrialised countries through their bilateral aid agencies (Kardam, 2004:97). In many cases, gender sensitive laws are not implemented as they contradict local traditional norms. As such, gender inequality still exists to a larger extent in the police and the military especially in Africa and in developing countries where the inequality gap in society is still large. The full achievement of gender equality is therefore not expected soon, where such inequalities are embedded in patriarchal relations within society.

### *2.6.2 Valuing femininity in peace operations*

All the above impacts on the utilisation of women in peace operations that stretch the entire spectrum from peace enforcement, peacekeeping, to peace building, and peace-making. This

includes a range of tasks such as building infrastructure, economic governance, employment creation, civil administration, election observation, political process, security operations, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), rule of law, human rights, capacity building and humanitarian assistance (Guéhenno, 2008:23). Meanwhile there are different challenges in post conflict environments for which the presence of women would be crucial. Violent situations involving rape, food distribution disputes, ex-combatants, and child soldiers in particular have alerted the international community about the need to take women's participation into consideration (Donadio, 2008:42).

One of the tasks of uniformed peacekeepers is to assist in DDR process. This process is best understood as a tool for short-term stabilisation. It has been observed that when female staff are involved in screening at disarmament sites, the process becomes more assessable and acceptable to women (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:11). Disarmament involves the "collection, safe storage and destruction of armaments and ammunition following conflict (UN, 2002:29). It has been observed during operations in Sierra-Leone and Liberia that women may not enrol in DDR programs due to gender related reasons such as the fear for their safety, resulting from the presence of large numbers of ex-combatants at disarmament sites and the fear of social stigma attached to women associated with armed groups. Therefore female officers are required to encourage these women.

Peacekeepers are also required to provide protection to refugees at refugee sites or indeed when they are in transit and to protect internally displaced persons. The presence of women peacekeepers is especially crucial to protect women and children from sexual violence when they go outside the camp to gather firewood, or to use ablution facilities (Mooney, 2007:69). Peacekeepers are required to prevent sexual violence in reintegration programs, considering that the level of sexual violence perpetrated against women and girls is high in post-conflict countries. Female peacekeepers especially are expected to attend to victims of sexual violence.

Other tasks of peacekeepers include conducting searches that include: body searches, vehicle searches and dwellings searches (Dharmapuri, 2011:60), interviewing and counselling traumatised victims of gender based violence, offering support to former child soldiers, distribution of food provided by aid agencies, helping in avoiding food distribution disputes (Donadio, 2008),

maintaining law and order through for example, conducting patrols, and separation of combatants along a more or less demarcated boundary, the promotion and protection of human rights, mine clearance, training and mine awareness (Trevor,1996), manning police stations, and offering military and police training (Gantz,2007; Bastick & de Torres, 2010).

It is evident that police and military peacekeepers have many tasks and therefore require appropriate skills to perform these tasks. Peacekeepers especially the police need complex investigating skills to investigate violence committed against women and girls, war crimes and crimes against humanity (Whittington, 2007:97). Peacekeepers also need basic understanding of international criminal and humanitarian law. They need training on gender issues and gender based violence, questioning and investigative skills, searching skills, appropriate counselling skills and skills on crowd control. They also need to recognise and be able to deal with secondary trauma. Further, they should be able to assess needs for protection, offer witness support and how to access it, as well as be able to give witness protection including pre-emptive strategies that reduce the likelihood of witness intimidation especially at the level of investigation (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:15). As such, the role and value of female peacekeepers has gained prominence in the post-Cold-War era.

## **2.7 The role and value of female peacekeepers**

In the nineteen nineties (1990s) calls for women peacekeepers from various women organisations caused the UN to deploy the first female peacekeepers to Bosnia and Kosovo (Valenius, 2007). This culminated in the official Security Council document in 2000, Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), which aimed to address violence against women in armed conflict and emphasised the need for more women in peacekeeping operations (Leatherman, 2011). However, to date, very few women are involved in peacekeeping operations (PKOs) (Dhamapuri,2013), despite claims that having more women in the peace operations improve the operational effectiveness of peace operations (Karim & Beardsley,2013:465). Numerous claims are made in this regard in terms of their greater access to the local population and so forth.

### **2.7.1 Access to local population**

It is argued that female peacekeepers have more access to local populations and especially to local women and children and that this is because of their being friendly and less fearful (Valenius,

2007;Cordell,2011). It is estimated that 80% of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women, children, and the elderly in post conflict areas globally. It is estimated for example that 70% of Rwanda's post genocide population were women and children. With this in mind, it is argued that the presence of female peacekeepers will help to reach most of these affected populations (Dharmapuri, 2011:59). It is also argued that female police and military officers have access to a greater range of actors in conservative societies because they can meet with all members of society unlike their male counterparts. Experience has shown that men in conservative Muslim societies whether in Afghanistan, Bosnia or Hebron prefer to interact with female peacekeepers (Dharmapuri, 2011:61). This is a reaction to the critique that including women in peacekeeping operations will create a cultural backlash, that female engagement especially in a Muslim environment will create more problems and offend the local population. An example may be the use of female Marines for women- focused activities that were manifested out of necessity in Afghanistan and Iraq. Here these female Marines had a wide access to a greater segment of the local population (children, women and men) in these culturally conservative regions (Dharmapuri, 2011:60). Further, it is argued that women in peacekeeping operations identify more closely with the problems affecting the local population (Davis & McKee, 2004:70).

Validating the arguments that female peacekeepers are able to interact more easily with the local population based on these arguments is difficult, as a number of studies show that women have few contacts with local communities. Female peacekeepers in peacekeeping missions are usually confined to the base and so have little time to interact with members of the host community (Sion, 2001:237; Sion, 2009:487). In some cases, even if female peacekeepers would want to go outside the camp, their male colleagues would stop them basing their arguments on security reasons. It should also be realised that peacekeepers are coming from different countries and ethnic groups and there are language barriers and other cultural differences that make female peacekeepers unable to mingle with members of the community (Jennings, 2011:9). It is difficult to assume therefore that women will have greater access to the local population when they are themselves foreigners. Even at troop level, most peacekeepers have limited access to women's organisations on the ground (Bertolazzi, 2010). Duffield (2010) states that both male and female peacekeepers have limited contacts with local populations as a result of segregation between peacekeepers and the local population.

Moreover there are rules that apply to both male and female peacekeepers regarding interaction with members of the local population and these rules make it difficult for peacekeepers to have regular contacts with members of the host communities (Anderson, 2010). Usually these rules are there to safeguard the security of both peacekeepers and local communities and this is reasonable, considering the experiences of peacekeeping in the past. Further, it is not clear yet how local populations perceive both male and female peacekeepers since very few studies have been done in this regard (Jennings, 2011:9). One such study involved Congolese populations on their perceptions of different aspects of UN peacekeeping operations and interestingly enough, it is only in the eastern part of the country (where peacekeepers were in their majority) where the perception was positive (Bertollazzi, 2010). However, there have been no studies to determine whether male and female peacekeepers are perceived differently by the locals. Further, the attitudes of the local community toward peacekeeping is linked to money and jobs (Jennings and Nikolić-Ristanović, 2009). The peacekeeper economy or environment may be the only time that locals have any interaction with peacekeepers. This means that these economies, and the ways that peacekeepers act during these interactions, play a large role in shaping the perceptions of local communities (Heineken, 2013:7).

### *2.7.2 Deterring male misconduct*

The perceived legitimacy of peacekeepers in a host country is highly impacted by the way they behave or whether they are seen to engage in criminality, abuse or indeed failures to adequately protect local communities (Mehler, 2008; Wiharta, 2009). It is argued that the presence of female peacekeepers deter their male counterparts from misbehaving (Bolkovac & Lynn, 2011; Carvajal, 2010:2; Pillay, 2005:13), that when female peacekeepers are present the situation is closer to real life and as a result, men tend to behave. It is argued that female presence has a “civilizing effect” (Carvajal, 2010:2), that it deters male peacekeepers from committing offences of sexual violence and rape (Simić, 2013). It is argued that “men behave better when in the presence of women from their own culture” (De Groot, 2001:13) and that in the presence of female peacekeepers male peacekeepers become more reflective and responsible (Dharmapuri, 2011:7). This implies that men on their own are unable to control themselves unless women are present. But a number of studies do not seem to support the above arguments. It seems that the mere presence of female peacekeepers does not deter their male counterparts from physically abusing local populations (Mazurana and



Piza-Lopez, 2002:33). The presence of female peacekeepers does not also deter their male colleague from committing sexual gender based violence (SGBV) (Jennings, 2011:6). The argument that the presence of female peacekeepers deters male misconduct is difficult to sustain as some research shows that women do not want to mingle in the affairs of their male counterparts (Jennings, 2011:6).

What needs to be remembered is that usually women are in the minority in peacekeeping missions and so it is practically impossible for them to ‘police’ their male counterparts (Heinecken, 2013:8). Checking male behaviour may also attract a negative reaction from their male colleagues who may discriminate against them. Again women merely go for peacekeeping and so they should not be expected to monitor the behaviour of male peacekeepers. Institutional effort is required to make sure that the behaviour of male peacekeepers is according to the stipulated peacekeeping guidelines. The call for the deployment of women peacekeepers primarily came as a response to the UN’s damaged image and reputation following a number of reports of peacekeepers’ involvement in acts of sexual abuse. Women peacekeepers are essentially expected to take on the responsibility for preventing sexual exploitation and abuse and protecting local women from such acts. While there is a need to combat sexual violence in PKOs, the responsibility for prevention should be on troop contributing countries (TCCs), which need to exercise accountability and prosecute acts of sexual violence committed by their peacekeepers. Diverting responsibility to women neither help to address the problem of sexual violence in PKOs nor to eradicate its causes (Simić, 2013:2).

On the part of female peacekeepers, research shows that they have displayed good behaviour unlike their male counterparts. Studies conducted globally on the limited number of women deployed in police units indicate that their contribution is significant. Compared to their male colleagues women police officers across all cultures are rarely accused of misconduct, improper use of force or the inappropriate use of weapons. Women in addition are less authoritarian when interacting with the local population.

### *2.7.3 Ability to address GBV*

Another advantage of having more female peacekeepers, is that it is believed that local women are more likely to report cases of SGBV to female peacekeepers (Carvajal, 2010:4). Therefore it is essential to deploy more women in peacekeeping missions to facilitate communication with local



women, especially in the context of widespread sexual violence against them. As one Congolese woman expressed:

“In my culture, it is not common to talk about sex with men, let alone strange men...Many of the women who were raped like I was can identify their attackers, but find it difficult to report to the police. We can talk to you because you are women like us. But we can’t talk these things with men. If only we had female police in MONUC to whom we can report these horrible things that happened to us” (Puechguirbal, 2003:126).

Research shows that women peacekeepers have helped to address cases of sexual exploitation, abuse and violence (Kronsell, 2012; Bertalozzi, 2010:17; Mazurana, 2003). An example is DRC where men in armed forces committed atrocities and in this case female rape victims were more confident to deal with their fellow women (Bertolazzi, 2010:18). However women can only be of help if they interact with members of the community. Members of the local community also need to have confidence in these female peacekeepers and this cannot be taken for granted. Women should also be willing to handle these cases on themselves, otherwise if this duty is imposed on them, expected results would not be achieved. In this regard, there have been no studies indicating that the level of SGBV reports increase significantly when female peacekeepers are present. What has been seen is that what matters to the local population is the uniform, as opposed to being a female or male peacekeeper (Jennings, 2011:6).

Further the effectiveness of female peacekeepers to address SGBV depends on the amount of training received and also on the availability of special units addressing SGBV in peacekeeping missions, but in many cases, women are not trained on issues of SGBV and special units are unavailable. “It is essential that victims of sexual abuse and exploitation have avenues for recourse when abuse is threatened or occurs. Even if a victim is ready to come forward, effective reporting systems are seldom available and there are little prospects of the crime being punished” (Mooney, 2007:69).

#### *2.7.4 Community based intelligence*

Female peacekeepers are said to be able to gather information for early warning and human rights investigations. An example is the all-female Ghanaian battalion that played a significant role in

intelligence-gathering by creating good rapport with community members (Cordell,2011:33), and the case of the Norwegian female soldiers in Lebanon who spent a significant amount of time socialising with local women, thereby enhancing their ability to gather intelligence (Karamé, 2001). A study that focused on five Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan found that greater outreach resulting from communication with both men and women meant that the operations received an enhanced picture of intelligence (Dharmapuri, 2011:59). It is almost undisputable that women peacekeepers have been beneficial in conducting body searches on women at check points and in other places where men cannot enter (Dharmapuri, 2013:7). In Afghanistan and in Iraq, female Marines were more effective in compound searches as they could reach spaces designated as ‘women’s’ space. In this way they were able to discover improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that were hidden in so-called ‘women only’ places within household compounds (Dhamapuri, 2011:61). Peacekeepers therefore have “comparative operational advantage” in peacekeeping operations (Dharmapuri, 2013:13).

However the ability for female peacekeepers to gather intelligence depends on the rapport that they cultivate with members of the host community, and barriers such as language limit their ability to do so. Again community intelligence depends on mobility, if women are confined to their base as some studies show, then there can be nothing like community based intelligence from the side of female peacekeepers. Moreover, intelligence gathering requires some level of training and professional inclination to it. It is not known how many female peacekeepers have that training and inclination.

#### *2.7.5 Providing services to local community*

Female peacekeepers have been helpful in providing services to the local community such as rebuilding houses, churches and schools (Karamé, 2001:90). In post-conflict countries, infrastructure such as roads, schools, churches and houses are often destroyed (Mooney, 2007:68). Women and girls are particularly vulnerable where they have to collect firewood or water (Mooney, 2007:68). They are particularly at risk of sexual attacks when they go outside the displacements camp, as has been observed in Darfur where such incidences are common and systemic (UN,2005:3). Due to this female peacekeepers have been helpful in providing security to local

women when they go out to collect firewood, water, or when they are using sanitation or ablution facilities in the camps. Usually the risk to women and girls in such situations is high (Hynes, 2004:431). Female peacekeepers have also provided self-defence lessons to local women, and an example here is the all-female unit which was based in Liberia (Cordell, 2011). However, in terms of their protection and security from rebel groups, it appears as if local women tend to opt for men rather than women to provide these services since traditionally men are seen as protectors. For many, it is strange to see women soldiers, and they don't know how to place or judge their competency (Heinecken, 2013:9).

#### *2.7.6 Gender equality and non- discrimination*

It is argued that having women deployed on peacekeeping operations helps to change perceptions of gender relations and gender equality. When female peacekeepers are included, an environment is created where lessons of gender equality and non-discrimination can be appreciated by local communities (Dharmapuri, 2013:13; Odanović, 2010:74; UN,1995;DAW,1995), apart from representing other women by promoting human rights through the active participation of female peacekeepers ( Meier & Nicholson-Crotty2006; Keiser, et al.2002). In many societies including conflict stricken ones, women have been suppressed and under-represented in economic, political and social spheres. And this is particularly true in the security sector. This sector has always been regarded as a 'man's world' and therefore, having female peacekeepers has in some cases helped to motivate local women to join their local police and military forces. The presence of an all-female unit in the United Nations mission to Liberia (UNMIL) led to an increase in applications from local women wanting to join the Liberian national police by three times the normal number of female applicants in three months after the unit's deployment (Dharmapuri, 2013:13).

However, to have a similar experience in other places requires that the number of female peacekeepers should be reasonably large and this remains a challenge. Few countries deploy all-female units. As has been stated, women need to constitute 15-30% of the total composition of a peacekeeping mission for them to be able to influence other people (Sion, 2001:236). At the rate at which women are being integrated in peacekeeping missions, their numbers are likely to remain low. Also, some cultures may not be inspired by seeing female peacekeepers and these peacekeeper may be seen as 'deviants' by joining an occupation which is traditionally for men. Moreover

cultural biases may be imbedded in the entire structure of the host country so that more than the presence of female peacekeepers is required to have a favourable response to gender equality and non-discrimination.

#### *2.7.7 Less aggressive, more compassionate*

It is believed that when women are included in tactical security and policing operations, there is a greater opportunity to mitigate violence and build trust within the affected populations (Bridges and Horsfall, 2009:125). Evidence shows that women tend to reduce tension and that they are less confrontational than men (Simić, 2010:190). An example here is the all-female Indian UN Police Unit that was deployed to Liberia in 2006. This unit reduced tension and enhanced trust within the peacekeeping operations, and it was viewed by the local population as being more approachable than their male colleagues, that they were more sensitive to the needs of the local population particularly when it comes to cases of sexual violence (Dharmapuri, 2011:61). Where female officers have served, there has been lower levels of cases brought forward against them and they are more likely to diffuse potentially violent situations (Mobbek, 2010:281). It may be the case that because women are generally perceived to be less violent and hence less threatening, the reaction to them is less aggressive than that towards their male colleagues (Heinecken, 2013; de Groot, 2001; Olsson, 2000).

## **2.8 Training and preparation for peacekeeping operations**

### *2.8.1 Introduction*

The above section shows that female peacekeepers have a valuable role to play in peacekeeping operations, although this is context specific and remains contested on many grounds (Heinecken:2013:23).

Given that women are seen to perform roles and add value different to that of men on peacekeeping operations, the question then arises: to what extent is their training the same or different from that of men? Accordingly, the following section focusses on the training of peacekeepers. The section focuses on gender training, the only mandatory training as required by the UN. Since there is no distinction between the training received by female peacekeepers and that received by male peacekeepers in literature, the training is presented as such.

### 2.8.2 *Training of Peacekeepers*

The effectiveness of peacekeepers, both male and female depends upon the training that they receive. Training is important especially now that the scope of peacekeeping has widened beyond military tasks. Peacekeeping training especially in the military takes the form of combat exercises and emphasises infantry combat. It includes such exercises as shooting, assaulting and marching (Sion, 2009:480). In some cases peacekeeping training especially prepared by individual states has no gender mainstreaming content, but rather focusses mainly on masculine combat roles. The training of military, police and civilian peacekeepers on gender issues is intended to improve their capacity to fulfil the mandate of the mission through:

- (a) Building the common understanding of the values they are to uphold when working for the UN such as for example, the principles of equality between men and women and non-discrimination based on sex (UN DPKO, 2004:45);
- (b) Helping peacekeepers understand the social context in which peacekeeping operations are carried out, and the ways in which relationships between men and women and gender roles and responsibilities are transformed by violent conflict (Mackay, 2003:219-220); and,
- (c) Making peacekeepers aware of the positive or negative impacts that their actions can have on the host country and develop basic skills of gender analysis (Mackay, 2003:219-220).

Indeed the UN has stressed that gender training, “is.....not a luxury, but a requirement for improving the effective discharge of the mission’s mandate and reducing both harmful forms of behaviour by peacekeeping personnel and unintended negative effects of mission policies and programs” (UN DPKO, 2004:45). Peacekeeping troops should receive gender-awareness training both during their pre-deployment training program in the troop contributing country and once they arrive in mission (Alanga and Birikorang, 2012; Lyytikäinen, 2007:7).

Since member states are the ones responsible for the training of troops before departure for mission (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:25), the amount of training that peacekeepers receive depends upon troop contributing countries (TCC). The DPKO provides training materials for the use of member states and it also offers advice and supplementary training events such as training of

trainers upon request to national and regional centres (Lopes,2013; Alanga and Birikorang, 2012; Lyytikäinen, 2007:8). Further, the DPKO Training and Evaluation Service (TES) has developed generic training packages which are available online to all member states for pre-deployment training for both military and civilian police personnel.

With regards to in-mission training, peacekeeping personnel receive induction trainings once they arrive at peacekeeping missions, with military and police personnel often trained separately from civilian staff. The extent to which gender training is provided varies from one mission to another, but it is stronger in missions that have gender advisors on their staff. The induction sessions on gender awareness are short, ranging from thirty minutes to two hours and these are generally conducted by the gender advisor or other gender unit staff. However, due to time limitations and language barriers, not all incoming personnel can be briefed by gender unit staff and in such situations, contingents are trained by officers who have been trained by the gender unit (Lyytikäinen, 2007:9).

Topics that are often covered in UN gender training for peacekeepers include; the concept of ‘gender’; cultural differences; the aims and objectives of UNSCR 1325; gender aspects of armed conflict; human rights and gender equality (Alanga and Birikorang,2012; Bastick and de Torres, 2010). Troops in many cases are trained separately on issues relating to code of conduct of peacekeepers. Further, the UN Women plans to launch an e-learning course on addressing SGBV in armed conflict in order to improve competence on how to prevent and handle this particular offence (Dharmapuri, 2013:18). In terms of methods employed in teaching, a combination of lectures, debates, case studies and sometimes audio-visual materials are used (Alanga and Birikorang, 2012). It is the task of this study to determine the extent to which gender training reaches peacekeeping personnel, in particular women peacekeepers, and what impact it has on peacekeeping operations as well as the interaction between UN personnel and the local people.

### *2.8.3 Challenges with respect to gender training*

Implementation of gender training is generally difficult. Pre-deployment training varies from one country to another. In some countries, pre-deployment training is optional for member states and is sometimes hurried. This poses an obstacle to making peacekeeping personnel realise the

gendered implication of their mission beforehand (Alanga & Birikorang, 2012:20). In- mission training is dependent on the commitment of mission leadership and not all missions have a gender unit (Lyytikäinen, 2007:14.). According to Mackay (2003:220) what affects gender training,

“ is the emotional rather than the intellectual challenge it presents. From the outset, it is at some level a politicised discussion. It strikes at the centre of everyone’s being, male or female, because it is about beliefs, values, practices, expectations, and attitudes that identify every one of us. Long-held assumptions are likely to be challenged, issues of power and control confronted, and a demand made to look at the world from a different perspective”

Gender training is also political and this presents challenges. The distinction it makes between sex (a biological term) and gender (a social and cultural construct) challenges traditional ways of thinking and uncovers common assumptions about women and men, and personnel may find out that culturally defined roles and responsibilities for women and men differ among regions and communities, and a discussion on such issues can be unsettling or even confrontational (UN 2004:46). The challenge of this is that at institutional level, there is lack of political will and resources allocated to gender training. For example, countries that contribute more peacekeepers seem to rank low in terms of gender awareness training and have the least capacity to train peacekeepers. At classroom level, gender training is determined by the status that gender issues have in a TCC’s peacekeeping agenda (Lyytikäinen, 2007:15).

Sometimes female peacekeepers may be trained on gender issues either by UN or outside agencies prior to the mission, but end up being misplaced when they arrive in mission. An example here is the UN Stabilisation Force in Haiti in which qualified female Haitian police officers were trained on issues specific to gender based violence (GBV). Following their deployment, these women were given administrative tasks instead of investigating crimes and putting into practice the skills they had learned. They had no contact with the victims (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:25). This misplacement happens to other women who have undergone training other than on gender.

## 2.9 Obstacles to gender balancing in UN peacekeeping

With the emphasis placed on the value of women in peace operations and the emphasis placed on gender awareness training, one would expect that troop and police contributing countries (who decide on the number of female officers to send or to deploy in peacekeeping missions) should be constantly improving in terms of numbers. However this is not the case as can be seen in figure 1. In fact, the participation of female uniformed personnel in UN peacekeeping has remained consistently low for almost a decade, hovering at around one percent globally. In order to address this problem more robustly, the UN launched an initiative known as the ‘global effort’, aimed at increasing the percentage of female police serving in peacekeeping missions to 20% by 2014. The UN Office of Military Affairs also begun to encourage member states to deploy more female soldiers, but unfortunately set no firm targets. By March 2013, women comprised less than 4% of UN peacekeepers globally accounting for about 3% of UN military personnel and 9.7% of UN police (Dharmapuri, 2013:2-3).

What are the reasons for this? There are a number of obstacles in the greater participation of women in the operational forces of the peacekeeping mission, that is, in both the police and military units. One of them is the fact that women make up for a small percentage of operational forces in their home countries in the army and police, which consequently limit the number of women in peacekeeping operations (Odanović, 2010:75).

“Historically, whenever gender integration has taken place, whether in government or military institutions, it has met with obstacles, derision and bluster. Peacekeeping is no exception. A common thread found throughout this literature is the prevalence of social norms and behaviour that perpetuates inequality between men and women and that act as a barrier to women’s full participation in security sector” (Dharmapuri, 2013:13).

In terms of leadership positions such as Head of Mission (HOM) or Deputy Head of Mission (DHOM), resistance to hiring women is greater. The selection process is stringent, but it is also politically conditioned and in most cases candidates selected to these positions are Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives to the United Nations (Connaway and Shoemaker, 2008:8). One should have several military experience to be appointed to such positions and many women do not meet this requirement. Further, the circles in which decisions to appoint HOM or DHOM are usually composed of men which have spent a number of years in the UN, and these men often harbour

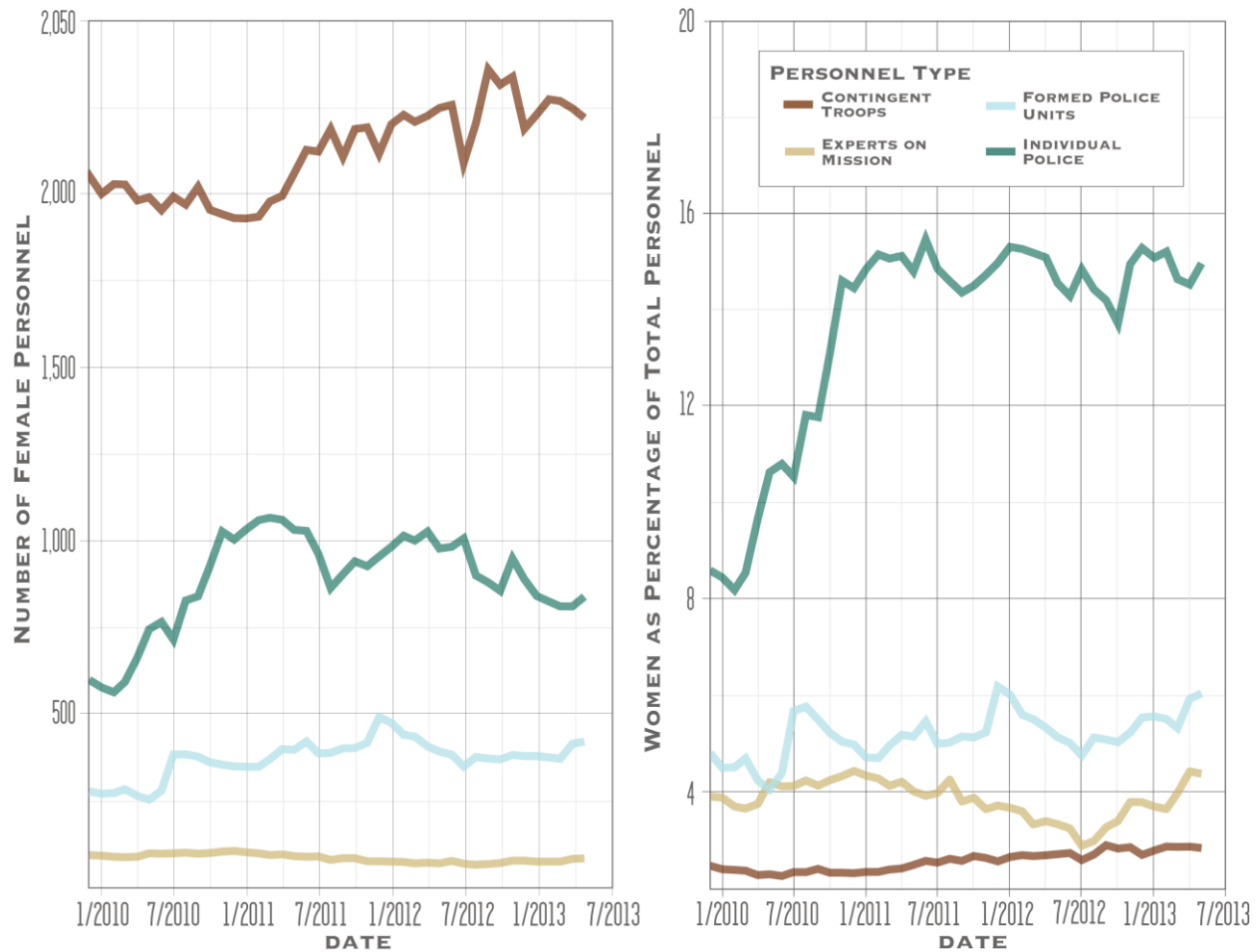


prejudices against women's involvement in leading positions of peacekeeping operations, and they believe that women do not have the requisite political and diplomatic skills to successfully lead the peacekeeping missions (Connaway & Shoemaker, 2008:27).

Therefore, considering the fact that there are very few women in top positions within the UN and that the process is quite closed for candidates outside the UN circles, a very small number of women in leading positions of the UN is expected. Another factor that explains a small percentage of women in peacekeeping missions is the lack of understanding by member states about Resolution 1325 and the UN Policy on Gender Equality. Member states are aware of UNSCR 1325, but do not understand its full implication and therefore this awareness does not guarantee understanding or appropriate action (Dharmapuri, 2013:13). In addition, many member states question the basis on which the UN sets its goals for increasing female police and military personnel in mission, and that only a few are aware that the policy is meant at more than simply increasing the number of female peacekeepers.

Other factors are to do with individual feelings of female would be peacekeepers. Since in some countries the decision to go for peacekeeping is voluntary, some female peacekeepers do not attempt to apply for deployment due to considerations of family and other factors. Others fear the dangers that are associated with peacekeeping (Dharmapuri, 2013:17). These fears may be either imaginary or real. In some cases it may be the requirements needed for one to be deployed in peacekeeping that may block women from participating in these missions. For example, due to lack of exposure as opposed to their male counterparts, women may lack such technical skills as being able to drive a 4×4 motor vehicle. For example, female police officers from Namibia, Tanzania and Zambia have identified women's lack of driving skills (the UN requires the ability to drive manual shift 4x4 vehicle) as one of the main obstacles to their deployment to peacekeeping missions (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:22). These requirements in most cases apply to police officers, and it so happens that more men than women are picked due to these considerations. These requirements do not apply in most cases to soldiers and this is particularly true with regard to the UN Peacekeeping missions in Sudan and South Sudan. Usually platoons are picked at regular intervals and so all women soldiers have a chance to go for peacekeeping.

**Figure 1: Percentage of female peacekeepers as at August 2013.**



Source: (Dharmapuri, 2013:5)

Therefore as can be seen, efforts for gender integration in UN peacekeeping missions are hampered at least in the eyes of the UN. It will require cooperation of UN member states to realise this ideal, without which the talk on gender integration in UN peacekeeping will be mere rhetoric, and consequently many women will not be deployed in roles where they can make a difference.

## 2.10 Challenges faced by female peacekeepers

Having looked at the obstacles that hinder women from participating in peacekeeping missions, this section discusses the challenges that female peacekeepers face while in mission. Female peacekeepers just like their male counterparts face challenges in peacekeeping operations, only that it seems, females face more challenges than males. One of the challenges faced by female peacekeepers is unfortunately, rooted in their male counterparts in that these women peacekeepers do not find acceptance by their male colleagues. Male peacekeepers have a negative perception

towards their female colleagues to such an extent that they (men) do not give them an opportunity to do what they are able, but rather restrict them to socially constructed 'feminine roles' (McLean 2011:21). Females for instance, may be confined to their base instead of going in the field. Such an attitude not only frustrates female peacekeepers, but it works against the operational goals of PKOs.

Again, because the environment of peacekeeping is male dominated, females are compelled to go along with men and so they may not do anything even if their male colleagues are misbehaving (Jennings, 2011:6). However these challenges do not apply in cases where the mission constitutes women only as in all-female Police Formed Units (PFU), which missions in any case, are rare. The other challenge faced by female peacekeepers is that their special needs such as toilets are not met (Schoeman, 2010:3; Mclean, 2011:22). Indeed, women may be soldiers or police women, but they have special needs and courtesy requires that these needs are met. Sometimes women's accommodation requires modification, but this may not be done by host governments and there may be no provisions made regarding women's special security needs (Bertolazzi, 2010:111).

Women serving in peacekeeping missions are also exposed to gender based violence which may be committed by rebels, other national armed forces, or even their own host nation's soldiers<sup>3</sup> (Simić, 2010:196). Women peacekeepers also suffer homesickness and depression in their barracks especially those with families back home and this seems to be more pronounced for them than male soldiers (Carvajal, 2010:3). One of the reasons for this is that apart from being child bearers, women are the primary care givers. Women have the responsibility to care for the members of the family especially the young ones. Therefore, women that have families often become stressed and home sick because of the associated social responsibilities that they have.

The other challenge is that to do with communication, although again this challenge is not only experienced by female peacekeepers. These peacekeepers are exposed to languages that they have never heard considering the fact that they are coming from foreign countries. Although there may be interpreters to break the language barriers, the work of peacekeepers in general and female peacekeepers in particular is hindered. This is particularly true when they try to associate with

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<sup>3</sup> An example here are Czech soldiers who were accused of raping an American woman peacekeeper in 2006 (Vandenburg, 2005:153)

members of the local community. Sometimes not knowing the local language may pose as a risk to them.

The other challenge that women face in peacekeeping missions are based on their numbers. Just like in national armies, women are disadvantaged in peacekeeping missions because their influence and impact is constrained by there being few in the composition of peacekeeping personnel. Their invisibility makes their job challenging. Research has shown that a number of women in a group may make a difference according to the extent to which women's influence is felt (Bystydieski, 1993:41). In such groups where sex ratios are highly skewed, it so happens that when women are few, they become isolated and invisible. In the same vein, in groups where women comprise less than 15% of the total membership, they do not influence group processes in any significant way (South et al., 1982; Spangler et al., 1978; Yonder et al., 1989). However, in such groups that are between 15 and 30%, women have potential allies among themselves, can form coalitions and can also affect the culture of the group (Kanter, 1977:209). In peacekeeping missions where their number is low leading to relative invisibility, the peacekeeping world is therefore a 'man's world'. Women peacekeepers are therefore challenged 'within the camp' by their counterparts, the male peacekeepers.

Women encounter two rules when they enter male dominated organisations: it is a man's world and it is a man's work (Davies, 1997:184). Davies (1997) argues that as women enter this male dominated world, they begin to struggle not only with questions surrounding their capability to do men's work, but also with issues surrounding their identity as women. The exclusion of women from military life and men's company is done in three ways: physical, functional and sexual (Sion, 2001:236). By functional is meant the exclusion of women from military life and men's functions and missions by using their sex against them. In a certain study involving women serving in UN peace missions in Kosovo and Bosnia, women stated that they wished to serve in combat roles but were refused on the basis of being female. As a result many women were bitter that in deployment their roles were changed as male personnel insisted on protecting them.

Therefore instead of doing the functions that they liked and chose before the peacekeeping mission, they ended up doing simple and not challenging administrative works (Karamé, 2001:89). This kind

of treatment of women is frustrating and lowers the morale of female peacekeepers. In many cases, even if women are trained to do a specific task, they end up doing something they did not prepare for on arguments that the tasks they trained for are not conducive for them in mission. An example is given of the only woman who served as an artillery combat soldier. Even though in Kosovo her male colleagues worked around the clock, she was not allowed to join them. The justification for this was that she was posted in an emergency team and so she was supposed to function only in cases of emergency. Therefore, even though she was trained and deployed as an artillery soldier, she was completely isolated from her male colleagues, waiting for an emergency situation which never happened (Sion, 2009:485). Apart from, this it was also seen that many women in Kosovo were more restricted than men to the camp area because many of these women were involved in different support tasks inside the camp.

In addition, Dutch commanders in Kosovo avoided exposing female peacekeepers to the locals and that female locals were surprised to see female peacekeepers and the fact that they were blond. In Bosnia, a country in which locals are more used in seeing peacekeepers, a female peacekeeper who was asked to join male peacekeepers on patrol was told that the locals would not tolerate such a situation. Limiting women's roles in the military as in cases where women soldiers are confined to the camp in order to protect femininity leads to a tendency of underutilising these women (Hong, 2001:131). The other way of women's exclusion from military functions and missions is physical. This refers to various ways in which women's bodies are ruled out of order and used against them. This method ensures that women are excluded from and restricted to certain tasks because they are deemed not to be suitable for a challenging life in the field (Kümmel, 2001:154; Kovitz, 2001:259). It may be argued that during military training or during the mission when times are hard, there is no opportunity to bath and this may be a justification for excluding women from combat even though they may be willing to perform such duties.

Women are also excluded sexually. Usually women are mocked by their male colleagues by telling them to dress properly and men stare at them often and making sexual comments. Some Indian police women peacekeepers stated that being 'pretty' is a disadvantage in peacekeeping missions. "Indian women are pretty so they are going to be whistled at and all sorts of things, but they will have to take it in their stride" (Simić, 2010:196). However, some women want a male dominated

environment because they know they will not face competition over boy-friends (Harrell & Miller, 1997). It is also argued that even though women may constitute a good percentage of the entire group, this does not help them in any way as they do not have a tendency to support each other. They may for instance call their fellow women as being too talkative (Sion, 2001:241)

The other challenge that female peacekeepers face is the militarized masculinity of peacekeeping missions which is the main challenge to address. According to Carreiras and Kummel (cited in Lopes, 2012:2-3), “militarised masculinity is a combination of traits and attitudes that are hyper masculine, hegemonic and are associated primarily with military soldiers”. A description of some of the traits that are associated with militarized masculinity is given by David Morgan (1994:165):

“Of all the sites where masculinities are constructed, reproduced and deployed, those associated with war and the military are some of the most direct. Despite far reaching political, social and technological changes, the warrior still seems to be the key symbol of masculinity.....The stance, facial expressions clearly connote aggression, courage, a capacity for violence and sometimes a willingness for sacrifice. The uniform absorbs individualities into a generalised and timeless masculinity while also connoting a control of emotion and a subordination to a higher rationality”.

These masculinities are more associated with men soldiers than woman soldiers. In peacekeeping missions, soldiers may need affirmation for their masculine identity through sexual exploitation of women and other forms of violent behaviour (Lopes, 2011:7), also witnessed in other African context where the oppression of women including sexual exploitation is a defining feature of hegemonic masculinity (Morrell et al.,2012;Carton &Morrell,2012). If prostitutes are not readily available, they may be inclined towards sexual exploitation or rape. According to Lopes (2012:13), ‘Militarized masculinity’ is one of the contributing factors to the low number of women participating in peacekeeping operations, in the sense that peacekeeping operations still embody in a ‘hyper masculine’ militarised environment and thus, female peacekeeping personnel do not feel welcome, they often experience ridicule for being ‘feminine’, and worst of all, they often become victims of sexual harassment and abuse. From this, it is evident that female peacekeepers face many challenges in peacekeeping missions, which can undermine their ability to contribute to peace missions.

## **2.11 Conclusion**

A change in the security agenda from traditional security to human security, and broadening of the tasks associated with peacekeeping has led to the call for more women to be deployed on peace missions. However, evidence shows that women's contributions to peacekeeping missions remain limited, due mainly to the fact that both the police and military remain masculine institutions and because femininity is not valued. The various theoretical debates on women's inclusion in these institutions continue to be most relevant to understanding how women's participation is limited, despite acknowledgement that they have a unique contribution to make. The empirical evidence points to the number of challenges women face when deployed on these missions and this study attempts to add to this body of knowledge by reflecting on the Zambian case in the forthcoming chapters.

## **CHAPTER THREE: ZAMBIA AND UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This study focuses on the Zambian experience of peacekeeping. It was in the year 1988 when Zambia began to participate in UN peacekeeping missions, when 15 military observers were sent to monitor a cease fire between Iraq and Iran. In 1989 police personnel also began to participate in peacekeeping missions. Over the years, the number of peacekeepers from Zambia has continued to increase and more recently, so has the number of women deployed on peace missions. To place the findings in perspective, this section first provides a brief background on the police and military in Zambia in terms of gender profile and the roles in which women traditionally serve. Then factors that have led to the inclusion or exclusion of women in the police and military, thereafter an overview of Zambia's involvement in peacekeeping, criteria for deployment and issues surrounding women's deployment are deliberated. Further the mandates and challenges of UNAMID and UNMISS are discussed and finally a conclusion is provided.

### **3.2 Gender integration in Zambia**

Zambia has had a standing army and police force since attaining independence in 1964. At the time, only a handful of women were part of police and military forces. Before independence the Army and the Police force were dominated by male Europeans (The British) and Africans were not allowed to be promoted to higher ranks. From 1965 to the 1970s women in both the police and the military accounted for less than 5% and were mainly involved in clerical functions (Hatchard and Ndulo, 1994:78-79). A significant shift in terms of the number of women in the police and the military began in 1991 when Zambia introduced Multi-Party Democracy. The number of women increased to about 15% in both institutions. Following the introduction of the Zambia National Gender Policy in the Year 2000 which called for equal and full participation of women at all levels of national development (UNPOL, 2013), the number of female military and police personnel went beyond 20%. As of today women represent about 30% of total police personnel and 30% of total military personnel, although for the past ten years the target has been to achieve 35% of women representation in these two institutions by 2015. This target is for women uniformed personnel.

In terms of roles, all the sections were open to women by 1991 and the security reforms introduced in 1994 ensured that women are represented in all sections of the police and the military. Since then



one sees the rapid career progression of women with a number now serving in senior ranks in both the military and the police. Today there are no tasks specifically performed by either men or women in both institutions. Women as well as men perform every manner of task. In the police for instance, female and male police officers are involved in criminal investigations, traffic duties, in administrative duties and in the emergency armed response squad. Equally in the Zambia Army, both men and women can be found in such sections as administration, infantry, and the newly introduced marine section. What is evident is that in all these sections women are less represented than men. This is because women constitute a smaller percentage of the total military and police personnel.

The inclusion of more women in the Zambian police and military is anchored on equal rights arguments, on legislation that promotes equal rights of both sexes and not on the unique contributions that women are expected to make in these institutions, and especially in peacekeeping. Equal rights arguments emphasise women's rights to opportunity, power and the right to work and to go for war. The legislative framework in Zambia to some extent promotes gender equality. In fact, from the political, level Zambia has ratified a number of protocols and conventions that promote gender equality. These include the United Nations Charter, 1945; the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1953); the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development Protocol, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979).

At national level, sensitisations during the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) helped to develop institutional structures to address gender mainstreaming. First established was the Women in Development Desk, which was responsible for activities relating to 'women's decade' and was in 1984, elevated to a Unit in the National Commission for Development Planning within the Ministry of Finance. It became a department within the commission in 1992 and in 1996, it became the 'Gender in Development Division' in Cabinet Office, Office of the President (Milimo et al, 2004:5). Today there is a fully-fledged Ministry of Gender and Child Development. Further, the constitution of the Republic of Zambia contains an anti-discriminatory clause in Article 23 (2). Article 23 (3) defines discrimination as extending to differential treatment of persons on the basis of "race, tribe, sex, place of origin, marital status, political opinions, colour or creed".

In line with the prescriptions of international protocols and the constitution, national policies are still in the process of being revised to ensure that men and women are given equal opportunity of employment. On political level the country has for the first time a female Vice President<sup>4</sup> and a female Inspector General of Police<sup>5</sup>. In the civil service, there has been an increase in the number of women. For example in the ministry of health women represent about 45% of total employees. Further, many more calls are being made in the country especially by civil society organisations calling for equal representation of men and women in decision making positions especially in politics.

However efforts to include women especially in development activities are not directed by clear cut policy. The Gender Equality Bill, for example, is yet to be passed by parliament. More also needs to be done on the legislative side. Zambia has a dual legal system comprising of civil and customary law (Milimo et al., 2004:50). The former promotes gender equality while the latter goes against it. For example, in cases based on gender discrimination, the Constitution protects individuals from matters governed by civil law, but one may not invoke the Constitution for protection against gender discrimination in matters governed by customary law (Milimo et al., 2004: 54).

With regard to the police and the military, resistance to the increased recruitment of women seems to be based on differential/radical views, which are essentialist in nature and reverberate the biological/emotional/psychological and culturalist explanations provided in Chapter 2. These views state that women are psychologically and physically unsuitable for police and military careers and have tended to confine women to particular roles that are considered traditionally feminine, thereby frustrating efforts aimed at gender equality and gender integration. Nonetheless, their numbers are increasing and at present female peacekeepers constitute about 10% of the total number of peacekeepers from Zambia. More though still needs to be done to increase this percentage.

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<sup>4</sup> Ms. Inonge Wina the first female vice president was appointed by president Edger Lungu in January 2015.

<sup>5</sup> The president also appoints the Inspector General of Police and provincial Police Commissioners.

### 3.3 Brief history of Zambia in peacekeeping and selection criteria

The participation of Zambia in peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the United Nations began in 1988 when a military observer group involving 15 military officers was sent to monitor a ceasefire between Iraq and Iran (Nyirenda, 2013:23). A year later in 1989, police personnel equally began to participate in UN peacekeeping operations (UNPOL, 2013). Since then Zambian peacekeepers have served in a number of countries including Liberia, Ivory Coast, Mozambique, Sudan, Congo DRC, Rwanda, Somalia and Kosovo. The number of peacekeepers deployed fluctuates from year to year, but remain relatively small when compared to countries such as South Africa which deploys over 3000 troops (Heineken & Ferreira, 2012:22). According to UN's DPKOs, Zambia had a total of 142 police and military personnel serving in PKOs as at June, 2014 (Chakwe 2014:19).

Currently, a total of about 450 personnel are serving in UN missions in Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Southern Sudan, and for the first time this year about 250 male<sup>6</sup> military personnel were deployed to the Central African Republic (CAR). Based on statistics obtained from the Zambia Police and the Zambia Army, out of 450 personnel involved in peacekeeping 116 are from the Zambia Police Service and of this number women represent about 10%. This shows that female peacekeepers from the police are still under represented even though a quota system of 30 percent is reserved for female police officers for all peacekeeping deployments. Equally in the army, women constitute only about 10% of total peacekeepers. Most women peacekeepers from the Zambia Police Service serve as gender and child protection officers and in this capacity they are the ones attending to concerns of women and children. Female military personnel are usually involved in patrols, but they have also serve in clerical and administrative tasks within the base.

In order to qualify for nomination and subsequent deployment to peacekeeping a police officer in Zambia must have served a minimum of 5 years, must have no criminal record or any pending criminal or disciplinary matter, must have a minimum of two years driving experience, be able to drive a manual shift 4x4 vehicle and must be medically fit. The 30 percent reserved for female

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<sup>6</sup> Only male officers left for peacekeeping to the Central African Republic (CAR) because at this stage the security situation in that country is considered too dangerous to involve female peacekeepers.

police officers is usually not met mainly due to them not having the driving abilities required to participate on peacekeeping missions (UNPOL, 2013).

The under representation of women peacekeepers from the Zambia Army and the Zambia Police Service can also be explained by the gendered division of labour in the military and police as they tend to be clustered in occupational specialisations that are considered more suitable to women such as the support branches in the military, and traffic and gender, and child protection sections in the police. This factor holds true in many countries (Odanović, 2010:75). The other reason is that because peacekeeping takes the form of warrior identity and require ability to endure psychological and physical strain, many women are considered unsuitable and undeployable. The other is the nature of the peacekeeping missions themselves and the level of violence and conflict associated with these missions. Both missions on which Zambia peacekeepers are deployed namely the United Nations /African Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and the United Nations Mission to South Sudan (UNMISS) are considered quite dangerous missions and are associated with high levels of violence against women. For this reason it is necessary to provide a brief background of these missions in order to understand the nature and context of these deployments.

### **3.4 Deployment of peace missions in Sudan**

Zambian peacekeepers have been serving in Sudan since 2007 as part of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and since 2008 as part of the United Nations/African Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)<sup>7</sup>. Sudan has been at war since before its independence in 1956 from 1955 to 1972 and then again from 1983 to 2005 (Heineken & Ferreira, 2012:27-28). The civil wars are linked to identity issues, resources and poor governance and these wars have been fought between the predominantly black Christian Sudanese South and the Arab Muslim Northern Sudanese. In Darfur, the civil war erupted in 2003 between the Government of the Sudan and its allied militia, the Janjaweed and other armed groups (De Waal, 2007:17). The Darfur conflict has been described as ‘the worst humanitarian and human rights catastrophe in the world’ and the first 21<sup>st</sup> century genocide, was caused by a long history of misgovernment and struggles over resources (De Waal,

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<sup>7</sup> Apart from these missions very few superior officers from the army and the police are currently deployed in peacekeeping missions in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

2007:19).

Since then numerous rebel groups have been involved in these conflicts in which the main combatant groups are Sudan Liberation Army/Movement (SLA/M) comprising of an alliance of different indigenous ethnic groups; the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Janjaweed. The SLA/M have been fighting against the Sudanese government including the government supported militia, the Janjaweed. The Janjaweed consisting mostly of Sudanese Arab tribes is one of the main players in the Darfur conflict which has pitted the largely nomadic tribes against the sedentary population of the region in a battle over resources, including land (Heineken & Ferreira, 2012:28). Numerous rebel groups involved in these conflicts have targeted local tribes which are believed to support rebel groups. Villages bore the brunt of these attacks, which are looted and women are systematically used as a weapon of war to humiliate and destroy the morale of men and destroy the social fabric of these communities. The level of these atrocities and inability to keep the peace despite the signing of many peace accords eventually led to the establishment of AMIS in 2007 under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. Proving unsuccessful, AMIS was replaced by UNAMID in 2008.

It is important to state that the conflicts in Sudan have a gender dimension. While both men and boys, and women and girls have been victims and perpetrators of war (Trenholm et al, 2012; Rhen & Sirleaf, 2002; Moser & Clerk, 2001), with women being used as a weapon of war, it is clear that women are specifically targeted (Scott et al., 2013; Whittington, 2007:100; Ahmed & Elmardi, 2005). This has been the case in Sudan. Consistent with the assertion that violence is fundamentally concerned with power and that this power includes an uninvited but intentional or half intentional act of physically violating the body of a person, women in Darfur have been victims of (aggravated) assault and rape. Women have been victims of sexual slavery, torture and forced displacement and they are left to deal with the physical and psychological effects of this victimisation and abuse (Abusharaf, 2006:64). The violence against women by male combatants has been a long feature of the conflict in Sudan with wide reports of sexual abuse, including abductions and forced marriages and pregnancies.

Sexual violence in Sudan is perpetrated by patriarchy in the sense that it is an expression of masculine power (Trenholm et al, 2012:16), and ‘masculinity’ does not exist except in contrast to ‘femininity’ (Connell, 2010:68). Patriarchy, which ensures male domination expressed through rape coupled with the taboos and stigma associated with rape, have made rapists to continue their acts with impunity (Scott et al, 2013:11; Abusharaf, 2006:65). The gender rooted subordinate position of women renders them victims of family, community and government violence. In 2004 for instance, 41% of women expressed a history of one or more forms of abusive behaviour by their husbands (Ahmed & Elmardi, 2005:165).

This gender based violence (GBV) is expected considering the wide gender gap in Sudan. According to the United Nations Development Index report of 2012, Sudan rates very poor in terms of global gender rankings. The country was placed at position 129 out of 148 countries rated in 2012 Global Gender Index (UNDP, 2012). The lower status of women in Sudanese society which is enforced by culture and religion makes them more vulnerable during and after war and it becomes difficult to address GBV through the justice system. This makes the mandate of UNAMID which strives to protect civilians, women and children more complex and difficult.

### **3.5 Mandate of UNAMID**

UNAMID is a multidimensional mission with a wide mandate that includes the protection of civilians; supporting the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA); ensuring that humanitarian agencies have effective access to those in need; promoting a secure environment so that economic development can take place and that the peace process is as inclusive as possible. The mandate of UNAMID also included:

- promoting gender equality by mainstreaming in all UNAMID operations through the gender advisory unit,
- offering HIV/Aids counselling, training and awareness to civilian population and to both government and rebel troops as well as to UN staff through the gender advisory unit,
- conducting DDR programs targeting children associated with armed groups, disabled combatants and women and communities associated with armed movements and,
- human rights monitoring, investigation, reporting and protection (UN, 2015a).

This has proven to be a difficult mission and has faced many challenges. One such challenge is lack of adequate resources such as equipment. The lack of equipment such as helicopters exposes peacekeepers to rebel attacks as they travel long and unfamiliar routes by road (Deng, 2007:32). From its inception, this was a dangerous mission, with both civilians and peacekeepers at risk of attacks. A notable incidence is the killing and injuring of Tanzanian peacekeepers in ambush in July 2013 (Chakwe, 2014).

Even with the presence of about 19, 000 staff, human rights abuses continue, people are fleeing from their homes as a result of renewed violence, small lethal arms proliferate and people are dying from disease and hunger. Indeed there has been destruction of villages especially in central Darfur, which have been associated with “brutal assaults on camps for the displaced, chronic breakdowns in the vast humanitarian effort in Darfur, an epidemic of rape and the appropriation of African lands by Arab militias which ensures continued instability and displacement” (Alanta Blackstar Staff, 2013). As at 30<sup>th</sup> September 2015 UNAMID had a total of 17,734 uniformed personnel and this was as a result of the passing of UNSCR 2173 in August 2014 which decided to reduce strength of military and police components. In terms of fatalities the mission recorded 218 deaths by 30<sup>th</sup> September 2015 involving 146 troops, 44 police personnel, 1 military observer, 3 international civilian personnel, 22 local civilian personnel and 2 others (UN, 2015b). Two of these fatalities involve Zambian peacekeepers – a military officer and a police officer who died in 2013 (Chakwe, 2014:19).

The situation in Sudan in general and Darfur in particular is complicated by the fact that the Sudanese government since the beginning of peacekeeping missions in that country, has not shown commitment and support to peacekeeping operations including UNAMID (Birikorang, 2009:11).

Such is the environment under which peacekeepers operate in Sudan/Darfur and it is understandable why under these conditions the military more specifically tends to mostly deploy troops from the infantry on these missions. The infantry corps has only recently opened its ranks to women and is generally hostile to them, given the very masculine nature of their training and the warrior ethos that defines the character of the infantry.

### 3.6 Deployment of peace missions in South Sudan

From the time that Sudan gained independence from British rule in 1956, Sudanese people have experienced ongoing civil war, tribal conflict and displacement. South Sudan has witnessed some of the most extreme forms of violence and insecurity within what was once a united Sudan. With the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the South was granted a six year period of autonomy and this was followed by a referendum. The January 2011 referendum favoured the secession of South Sudan resulting in the country's independence on 9<sup>th</sup> July 2011 (Scott et al, 2013:11). However, conflict perpetuated by tribal hatred has continued in South Sudan. South Sudan is home to over 50 tribes with the Dinka, Azande, and Bari being among the major tribes and conflicts among all these tribes is still prominent (HAKI, 2011:3). Given this challenging situation the UN mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) was established on 8<sup>th</sup> July 2011 for an initial period of one year under Security Council Resolution 1996 (UNSCR 1996, 2011). Since its inception Zambian peacekeepers have served in this mission.

Again just like in Darfur/Sudan, violence in South Sudan is highly gendered with women and girls experiencing high levels of GBV. The UN defines GBV as “any act that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life and can include intimate partner violence (IPV) (Scott et al, 2013:11). Women and girls in South Sudan have continue to be victims of rape, assault, forced marriages and prostitution and displacement (Scott, 2013:11; Abusharaf, 2006:165), and they suffer these atrocities at the hands of government and opposition forces (McNeish, 2014). Patriarchy, harmful cultural practices and values exacerbate cases of GBV in South Sudan. According to the CARE's 2015 report on gender in South Sudan, domestic violence is widely accepted by both men and women. The report reviews that 82% of women and 81% of men agreed that women should tolerate violence in order to keep their families together (CARE, 2015). Many believe that if men do not beat their wives, then, they do not love them.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that the levels of domestic violence are high. A report from South Sudan shows that 59% of women surveyed reported GBV in the home and 19% reported GBV in the community and reports of human right groups indicate that there is extensive domestic violence, sexual harassment and assault (Scott et al, 2013:11). In another study even though 84%



of women expressed the belief that there should be legal protection for the rights of women, many did not fully support women's rights including freedom of expression and movement (Kim et al, 2007:359). No specific domestic violence law exist in South Sudan. Early marriages are common with 45% of girls married before 18 years of age, and 7% married when they were younger than 15 years. Polygamy is common with 41% of marriages involving more than one wife. Further, divorce is extremely difficult for women. Traditionally, only men can ask for one and the wife's family has to pay back the bride price (CARE, 2015).

Gender based violence in South Sudan is equally rooted in gender inequality. While gender inequality data specific to South Sudan is limited given its recent independence, development indices for Sudan including Gender Index, Gender Inequality Index and Gender Parity Index indicate a huge gap in terms of equality between men and women. Women have limited access to education, employment and reproductive health. This situation is similar to that of South Sudan considering that Sudan and South Sudan have a parallel cultural, ethnic and religious background. For instance 84% prevalence of female circumcision in South Sudan is consistent with previous estimate of 89% in Sudan (Kim et al, 2007:359).

### **3.7 Mandate of UNMISS**

The mandate of UNMISS was given as protection of civilians, monitoring and evaluation of human rights, creating the conditions for delivery of humanitarian assistance. According to UNSCR 2115 of 27<sup>th</sup> May 2014, UNMISS is mandated to perform the following tasks among other things:

#### **(a) Protection of civilians**

- i To protect civilians who are under threat of physical violence, irrespective of the source of such violence, within its capacity and areas of deployment, with specific protection for women and children, including through the continued use of the Mission's child protection and women's protection advisers;
- ii. To implement a Mission-wide early warning strategy, including a coordinated approach to information gathering, monitoring, verification, early warning and dissemination, and response mechanisms, including response mechanisms to prepare for further potential attacks on United Nations personnel and facilities;

iii. To maintain public safety and security within and of UNMISS protection of civilians site

(b) Monitoring and investigating human rights

i. To monitor, investigate, verify and report publicly and regularly on abuses and violations of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law, including those that may amount to war crimes or crimes against humanity;

ii. To coordinate with, and offer technical support to, where appropriate, the African Union's Commission of Inquiry for South Sudan;

(c) Creating the conditions for delivery of humanitarian assistance

i. To contribute to the creation of the conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and confidence-building in accordance with relevant provisions of international law and United Nations guiding principles of humanitarian assistance.

ii. To ensure the security and freedom of movement of United Nations and associated personnel where appropriate, and to ensure the security of installations and equipment necessary for implementation of mandated tasks,

(d) Supporting the Implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement

i. To ensure proper coordination with the Joint Technical Committee (JTC), the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM), and Monitoring and Verification Teams (MVTs), as appropriate;

ii. To provide support to the work of the MVM as described within the Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) Agreement.

Even though much is expected from UNMISS in as far as its responsibility to protect civilians from physical violence is concerned, the mission faces challenges in terms of security and infrastructure. With regards to security, the mission is tasked to protect over 100,000 thousand people that have sought refuge in camps. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) in camps are vulnerable to attacks from armed groups outside the camps who may suspect these IDPs as being members of an enemy armed group. Such an incidence for instance happened on December 19, 2013 when the UN base in Akobo Jonglei was attacked killing two peacekeepers and at least eleven civilians from the Dinka tribe (Giffen et.al. 2014:23).

Apart from being killed IDPs and peacekeepers themselves are also at risk of being raped, assaulted and abducted when attacks occur. There is also insecurity around the base parameters. IDPs may leave the camp for firewood collection, water drawing, visiting relatives or for other reasons depending on the area and as they do so some have been raped, beaten, abducted and killed by rebel soldiers. Further, cases of rape, assault and murder within the IDP camps are not uncommon. The situation is worsened by the fact that the UN has no legal jurisdiction to prosecute the offenders (Giffen, et. al.2014:23).

Over and above this, UNMISS faces a number of challenges relating to infrastructure. IDPs for instance are overcrowded posing a challenge on water, sanitation and food. These conditions also affect the welfare of UNMISS personnel in these bases (Giffen, 2014:1). Further, the terrain in areas where UNMISS operates is rough creating a strain on the transport equipment of the mission. In terms of statistics as at 30<sup>th</sup> September 2015, the mission had a total of 12,523 uniformed personnel. It had recorded a total of 36 fatalities involving 17 troops, 1 police, 5 international civilians, 6 local civilians and 7 other (UN, 2015c).

### **3.8 Concluding remarks**

The purpose of this section was not to provide an in-depth account of these missions, but merely to sketch a brief background to show the context under which Zambian peacekeepers are deployed and the gendered nature of these missions. Here one sees a clear gender dimension in terms of the conflict with women being the most suppressed and frequently the targets in this war. Secondly, that the mandate of the missions is not war fighting, but primarily the protection of civilians and this involves interaction with the civilian population. Given that the local women of Sudan are not permitted to speak to men, it is an imperative that women peacekeepers are involved in these missions not only to enhance the protection and security of local women, but for operational success. Thirdly, it is clear that these are both dangerous and complex missions, and even more so for women peacekeepers who face many challenges on these missions that affect their utilisation. For this reason it is important that one examines the experiences of Zambian peacekeepers, how they are prepared for these missions in terms of their training, how they are utilised and the challenges they face. This is the aim of this study but before the findings are presented, the research methodology is provided below.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The need for more systematic research on the training undergone by female peacekeepers, the role they play in peacekeeping, and the challenges they face while in deployment prompted the need to collect empirical evidence to further our understanding of the experiences of women peacekeepers. The purpose of this chapter is to detail the research path and to describe the research process. The first section is devoted to the research strategy which justifies why semi-structured one on one interviews were used for data collection. A description of the settings and participants that make up the sample of this study is provided, before the data processing and analysis section is described. Here, the categorization of themes is explained. A reflection on the research process in terms of some of its challenges and shortcomings is provided, as well as limitations and the ethical considerations of this study. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

### **4.2 Research strategy**

This is a qualitative study which strived to obtain in-depth insight into how peacekeepers view and experience the deployment of women on peacekeeping missions. Studies aimed at understanding the experiences of female peacekeepers have usually employed a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach is more suited to this study than a quantitative approach as this study is exploratory and aims to capture the experiences of peacekeepers. It does not aim to provide definitive answers for an entire population, but to provide insights and further understanding of the deployment of female peacekeepers. I wanted to capture the voices of military and police women, especially those who have served on peacekeeping missions in order to gain a deeper understanding of women in PKOs. While some few studies have been conducted on the experiences of female peacekeepers, this study is the only one to my knowledge on the experiences of Zambian peacekeepers. Even though this study is informed by literature, it adopted an explorative, inductive approach which was shaped by the responses of participants, but analysed according to the themes that emerged from the literature.

This study is influenced by the social constructionist world view which emphasises the need to understand how individuals themselves interpret and understand the world in which they live. This

(constructionist paradigm) ‘emphasise the importance of context [of culture], of complexity, of examining situations in which many factors interact’ (Rubbin & Rubbin, 2012:19). The constructionist paradigm also acknowledges that individuals and their social realities cannot be understood as separate entities, but instead these can be understood as entities that interact with and influence one another (Bryman, 2008). Social constructionism goes along with the qualitative strategy that has been used in this study. A deductive quantitative study would not arrive at the much needed in-depth understanding of the experiences of female peacekeepers in peacekeeping missions.

The research design used in this study is a dual case study design, facilitated by primary and secondary data collection. A case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case such as a community or organisation (Bryman, 2012:67). This is a dual case study in the sense that the focus is on two organisations namely the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army. The two organisations both serve on peacekeeping missions. A dual case study design is therefore appropriate to understand in detail the experiences of peacekeepers in these two organisations.

#### 4.2.1 *Population and site of the study*

The study focuses on personnel who have previously served in peacekeeping missions in Sudan under UNAMID and South Sudan under UNMISS from 2009 to date based on official records available at both Police and Army headquarters<sup>8</sup>. UNAMID and UNMISS are the only two missions where both military and police peacekeepers have been deployed in comparatively large numbers and all categories of rank and gender. The year 2009 serves as a starting point because the present form of peacekeeping known as ‘multi-dimensional peacekeeping’<sup>9</sup> started in 2008. The experiences of peacekeepers under this type of peacekeeping will be considered current and will help to show how PKOs have evolved in the recent past.

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<sup>8</sup> The police and the military are the largest contributors of peacekeeping personnel.

<sup>9</sup> Core tasks of a multi-dimensional UN peacekeeping include capacity building, humanitarian assistance, economic governance, elections, civil administration, security operations and infrastructure development (Guéhenno, 2008:23). This form of peacekeeping also involve a number of stake holders including the UN and its agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and local institutions.

The site of the study is Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. This city has a significant number of police and military personnel who have previously participated in peacekeeping operations. The participants were drawn from the Arakan Barracks in the case of army personnel and within Lusaka division and at Zambia Police College in the case of police personnel. This was because in the army, Arakan Barracks houses the army headquarters and has the largest number of personnel who served in peacekeeping missions unlike other barracks scattered throughout the country. Similarly the Lusaka Police Division and the Police College have a significant number of officers who served on peacekeeping missions.

#### *4.2.2 Sample size and selection criteria*

The unit of analysis of this study is a group of individuals who participated in peace-keeping missions. The researcher interviewed a total of 50 personnel from the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army. In terms of the sample, female participants were more than male participants because the study focused on female peacekeepers, but male participants were included in order to have a balanced view on the experiences of female peacekeepers and this has been recommended by Alchin (2015:100). Interviews were conducted until it was felt that a point of saturation was reached. This pertained specifically to police personnel. It was more difficult to find military personnel to interview and they are somewhat underrepresented in this study. Despite this, a sufficient number were interviewed to obtain sufficient data from which to draw inferences about their experiences.

In terms of the profile of participants, 15 were from the army and 35 were from the police. Out of the total 50 participants, 30 were women and 20 were men. The researcher used a combination of convenience sampling, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. 'A convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility' (Bryman, 2012:201). Purposive sampling is the selection of 'units (e.g. individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific questions associated with answering a research question (Teddie & Yu, 2007:77). Finally, snowball sampling is a form of convenience sampling in which the researcher makes contacts with just a small group of individuals who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish more contacts with others (Bryman, 2012:202).

Before having access to the interviewees, the researcher had to obtain institutional permission from both the Zambia Police Service<sup>10</sup> and the Zambia Army. The researcher explained to the UN Liaison Officers that those to be interviewed should have served as peacekeepers in either Sudan or South Sudan from 2008 to date. This period is appropriate because as explained above, the current form of peacekeeping (multi-dimensional peacekeeping) begun in 2008. The participants should also have been involved in field work, not confined to an office. This was necessary in order to see how the peacekeepers were impacting on the local population and how the local conditions were affecting their operations. With regards to the army, the researcher had to wait for participants to be made available by the UN Liaison Officer. Ten participants were made available one at a time and on different days except for the three soldiers that came at the same time and were interviewed together. Later on, the Army Liaison officer could not avail the researcher with more participants on grounds that they were unavailable. The researcher later without the help of the liaison officer managed to interview five more female soldiers, who were located through snowball sampling. With regards to participants from the police, the researcher was initially given a few names (less than ten) of officers who met the selection criteria by the gender officer at Zambia Police Headquarters and by the assistant staff officer at Lusaka Division Headquarters. These officers were interviewed and some of them either introduced or directed the researcher to other officers that met the selection criteria. The researcher also had knowledge of other officers that met the selection criteria and these were also interviewed.

Further, of the 50 personnel interviewed, 42 were interviewed by the researcher while 8<sup>11</sup> female respondents were interviewed by a female colleague who is a graduate in sociology and has knowledge on gender issues. The services of the female research assistant were sought in case my being male could have influenced the results, specifically where this came to discussing sensitive gender matters.

Out of a total of 15 participants from the Zambia Army, 10 were female while 5 were male. Out of the ten female personnel eight were soldiers ranging from the ranks of private to staff sergeant. All

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<sup>10</sup> I had initially applied for permission to interview 20 officers from the police as shown in appendix two. However there was need to interview more police officers and permission to have access to other officers was verbally granted.

<sup>11</sup> Of these 4 were from the army and the other 4 were from the military.

these soldiers worked in the patrol section in peacekeeping mission. They had first-hand knowledge of field work and so they were relevant to this particular study. The other two were captains. These female captains worked with troops on the ground and they also performed supervisory roles. It was important to have the views of these officers on the experiences of female peacekeepers especially as they were familiar with the experiences with those they were supervising. Four of the military personnel interviewed were soldiers (privates), and they too were deployed in the patrol section. Three of these privates were interviewed together as a matter of convenience. One was an officer (major) who worked with soldiers on the ground. His views were equally relevant not only because he performed a supervisory role, but he also had similar experiences with those he was supervising.

The researcher also ensured that the categories of participants were representative in terms of gender and rank. The intention was to have a balanced view by having a sample consisting of soldiers and officers in the case of army personnel, and of superior and subordinate officers and other ranks (constable to Sergeant) in the case of police personnel. All the personnel interviewed from the army served in the republic of Southern Sudan and particularly in an area called Abiyei, but respondents from the Zambia Police Service served in Sudan (particularly Darfur) and South Sudan. Table 1 below shows the profile of participants from the Zambia Army and the settings of interviews.

*Table 1: Profile of military participants and settings*

Interviewee	Gender/Rank	Mission served/ period	Capacity in which served	Date/time of interview	Settings
1	Male/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2008- 2009	Patrol	23/4/15 0900- 1030 am	UN liaison officer's office
2	Male/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2008- 2009	Patrol	23/4/15 0900- 1030 am	Un lias.officer's office
3	Male/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2008- 2009	Patrol	23/4/15 0900- 1030 pm	Un lias.officer's office



4	Female/Staff Sergeant	UNMISS 2010-2011	Patrol	23/4/15 1040-1120 am	UN liais.officer's office
5	Female/Lance corporal	UNMISS JAN-JUNE 2010	Patrol	23/4/15 1130-1215 pm	Un liais.officer's office
6	Female/Staff sergeant	UNMISS 2009-2010	Patrol/tech	04/05/15 1100-1200pm	UN liais.officer's office
7	Male/Major	UNMISS 2008-2009	Logistics	04/05/15 1500-1600pm	Interviewee's office
8	Female/Captain	UNMISS 2009-2010	Patrol	05/05/15 1200-1300pm	Interviewee's office
9	Female/Captain	UNMISS Mar-Dec 2014	Logistics	07/05/15 1200-1300pm	Interviewee's office
10	Male/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2010-2011	Patrol	07/05/15 1400-1445pm	Arakan barracks premises
11	Female/Staff sergeant	UNMISS 2009-2010	Patrol/admin	31/8/15 1230-1310 pm	Arakan barracks premises
12	Female/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2009-2010	Patrol	02/09/15 1300-1340pm	Arakan barracks premises
13	Female/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2010-2011	Patrol	03/09/15 1110-1150am	Arakan barracks premises
14	Female/Staff sergeant	UNMISS 2009-2010	Patrol	03/09/15 1300-1345pm	Arakan barracks premises
15	Female/Lance corporal	UNMISS 2010-2011	Patrol section	07/09/15 1200-1245pm	Arakan Barracks premises

With regards to participants from the police, table 2 and 3 below show that a total of the 35 officers interviewed, 20 were women. Of these 19 out of the 30 served under UNAMID in Sudan (Darfur) while 11 served under UNMISS (South Sudan). In terms of rank 3 of those interviewed were senior<sup>12</sup> officers, 22 were subordinate<sup>13</sup> officers while ten were 'other ranks'<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Referring to the ranks of Assistant Superintendent and above.

<sup>13</sup> Referring to the ranks of Inspector and Chief Inspector.

<sup>14</sup> Referring to the ranks of Constable and Sergeant.

**Table 2: profile of female police participants and settings**

Interviewee	Rank	Mission served/Period	Capacity in which served	Date/Time of interview	Settings
1	Assistant superintendent	UNAMID/2008-2009	Gender officer	12/04/15 1230-1330 pm	Interviewee's office
2	Constable	UNAMID/2008-2009	Gender officer	17/04/15 1400-1500 pm	Interviewee's office
3	Constable	UNAMID/2011-2013	Gender officer	22/04/15 1018-1105 pm	Interviewee's office
4	Sergeant	UNMISS/2008-2009	Gender officer	23/04/15 1500-1548 pm	Interviewee's office
5	Chief Inspector	UNAMID/2009-2010	Gender officer	05/05/15 0900-1045 pm	Interviewee's office
6	Inspector	UNMISS/2008-2009	Gender officer	18/05/15 0830-0920 pm	Interviewee's office
7	Superintendent	UNAMID/2011-2013	Gender officer	21/05/15 1645-1748 pm	Interviewee's office
8	Sergeant	UNAMID/2011-2012	Gender officer	22/05/15 1240-1328 pm	Interviewee's office
9	Sergeant	UNAMID/2008-2009	Gender officer	20/08/15 0800-0950 am	Interviewee's office
10	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2009-2010	Gender officer	20/08/15 0950-1035 pm	Interviewee's office
11	Sergeant	UNAMID/2010-2011	Gender officer	20/08/15 1400-1448 pm	Interviewee's office
12	Inspector	UNAMID/2010-2011	Gender officer	21/08/15 1300-1345 pm	Interviewee's office
13	Inspector	UNAMID/2011-2012	Gender officer	24/08/15 0845-0930 am	Interviewee's office
14	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2009-2010	Gender officer	24/08/15 1630-1715 pm	Interviewee's office
15	Sergeant	UNMISS/2011-2013	Gender/child protection officer	25/08/15 0815-0910 pm	Interviewee's office
16	Sergeant	UNAMID/2009-2011	Gender officer	25/08/15 1024-1110 pm	Interviewee's office

17	Sergeant	UNAMID/2011-13	Gender officer	26/08/15 0900-0948 pm	Interviewee's office
18	Inspector	UNMISS/2009-2010	Gender/child protection officer	26/08/15 1400-1550 pm	Interviewee's office
19	Inspector	UNAMID/2010-2011	Gender officer	27/08/15 1200-1245 pm	Interviewee's office
20	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2009-2010	Gender officer	27/08/15 1505-1555 pm	Interviewee's office

What is noteworthy, is that all the female officers served as gender officers on these missions. This does not mean that women are not involved in patrols, instead they are the ones who attend to women and children when they visit IDPs. Apart from finding out the general welfare of local women, their other major task was to educate these women on what to do in case one is raped or defiled and also on matters of hygiene and self-reliance. While gender is not only about women, it seems that both peacekeepers and mission leadership associate gender with women issues. This study will show that whenever NGOs organised in-mission workshops on gender, it was mostly female peacekeepers (from the police) that attended these workshops.

**Table 3: profile of male police participants and settings**

Interviewee	Rank	Mission served/Period	Capacity in which served	Day/Time of interview	Settings
1	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2010-2011	Patrol/Team site	09/04/15 1030-1130 pm	Interviewee's office
2	Sergeant	UNAMID/2011-2013	Patrol/Team site	13/04/15 1100-1200am	Interviewee's office
3	Inspector	UNAMID/2014 to date	Patrol team leader	24/05/15 pm	Interviewee's residence
4	Assistant superintendent	UNAMID/2010-2013	Patrol team leader	21/08/15 1120-1205am	Interviewee's office
5	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2010-2011	Patrol/Team site	21/08/15 1300-1345am	Interviewee's office
6	Inspector	UNMISS/2011-2012	Patrol/Team site	23/08/15 0900-1000am	Interviewee's residence

7	Chief inspector	UNAMID/2010-2011	Patrol/Transport	23/08/15 1700-1745 pm	Interviewee's residence
8	Chief inspector	UNMISS/2011-2013	Patrol/Team site	24/05/15 0935-1015pm	Interviewee's office
9	Inspector	UNAMID/2009-2010	Patrol/Team site	24/08/15 1200-1245pm	Interviewee's office
10	Chief inspector	UNAMID/2010-2011	Patrol/Team site	25/05/15 1400-1445pm	Interviewee's office
11	Inspector	UNAMID/2014 to date	Patrol team leader	26/08/15 1600-1645am	Interviewee's office
12	Chief inspector	UNAMID/2009-2010	Patrol/ community policing	06/09/15 1500-1600	Interviewee's residence
13	Chief inspector	UNAMID/2011-2013	Patrol/Team site	08/09/15 0900-0950am	Interviewee's office
14	Chief inspector	UNAMID/2008-2010	Reform and restructuring	09/07/15 1045-1130	Interviewee's office
15	Inspector	UNAMID/2010-2013	Patrol/ community policing	09/08/15 1400-1500pm	Interviewee's office

What is apparent from the above table is that most of the male peacekeepers served in the field, being part of patrols or involved in community policing. This is expected considering the challenges associated with patrols. This study will show that conducting patrols was challenging for both police and military female peacekeepers and that some of them preferred to be at base. It is also important to note that the ranks of personnel in their local formations have nothing to do with the positions that they occupy in peacekeeping. When peacekeepers are deployed their positions or the capacity in which they serve is determined on merit based on one's qualifications and experience.

#### 4.2.3 Data collection methods

This study used one data collection method namely one on one semi-structured interviews. However the first three participants were interviewed in a group. The intention on this day was to have a focus group consisting of five male military personnel, but only three were available. I thus had to proceed with the interview considering that these soldiers may not be available again because

of the nature of their work<sup>15</sup>. This interview cannot be described as a focus group discussion as a focus group should consist of at least four people (Bryman, 2012:501). So this was not a group interview in the sense that the same set of questions were asked to every participant in the group. The three personnel who were interviewed were informed by the researcher to speak one at a time and it was easy to transcribe these interviews.

All the semi-structured interviews were guided by questions prepared beforehand in order to make sure that discussions remained on track<sup>16</sup>. The questions were asked in an open ended manner in order to allow me to be open to new issues and following them up within the context of the research question. Open ended questions are also important because they encourage rich and meaningful responses and in this way, I was able to explore new areas that I did not previously consider. The questions were not asked in sequence and were rephrased where necessary. Each interview took about forty minutes to one hour. In order to ensure the reliability of the data collected, the interviews were digitally recorded, thereafter the interviews were transcribed. Further, since interviewees sometimes open up right at the end of the interview, I did not switch off the recording device immediately. Indeed, in some cases, after thanking the interviewee for having come for the interview, the interviewee said things which were relevant to the interview and these additions were captured.

One on one semi-structured interviews were used because this was the only viable method that the researcher could employ. Before going for fieldwork, I had planned to conduct focus groups, but it became practically impossible to do this. It was difficult to group participants together considering the nature of their job and also the varied locations of their working stations. All the interviewees had a tight schedule, and some wanted the interview just there and then upon first contact and in the shortest period of time. For others, an appointment had to be made. However, the interviews were of sufficient length to capture the relevant issues and a high level of rapport was created between me and these interviewees.

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<sup>15</sup> Four soldiers had actually turned up for what was supposed to be a focus group but before the discussion could begin one of them was urgently called to attend to other duties.

<sup>16</sup> See appendix 3

#### 4.2.4 *Data processing and analysis*

The main data for this study are the one to one in-depth interviews with former peacekeepers from the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army. This study used a thematic analysis to analyse the data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006:81), thematic analysis is ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns [themes] within data’. The patterns which are also known as themes are information relating to the research question and represent responses from the data set. I identified themes across the entire data set as opposed to merely focussing on single responses in each interview. An inductive approach was adopted in this study in the sense that themes emerged out of the data itself, though Braun and Clarke (2006) state that in no way is a researcher free from the influence of theoretical background. The themes ‘reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them’(Braun & Clarke,2006:10) and therefore one researcher may subjectively select different themes of interest and report on them quite differently from another. In this regard the data interpretation was guided by literature and theoretical constructs pertaining to the experiences of female peacekeepers in terms of peacekeeping training, their role and the challenges they face in deployment.

To ensure a systematic and rich analysis of research data, three phases of data analysis were used in line with Braun and Clarke (2006)’s recommendation. In the first stage I familiarised myself with the data and this was easy as most of the data were conducted by myself. For those interviews conducted by the research assistant, I began familiarising myself with this data during transcription<sup>17</sup> of these recordings. In the second stage I coded the interviews by attaching labels to sentences and phrases and once this was done I sorted and grouped the different codes into broader ones. This led to the third phase in which the different codes were sorted into potential themes. It was easy to select themes from overarching ideas which emerged when individual codes were grouped. Following this, it was also easy for me to refine my themes and to consider the relationship between themes, sub-themes and codes.

#### 4.3 **Ethical considerations**

Before commencing with the interviews, all participants were briefed on the nature of the study and their rights as research participants. They were given the choice as to whether to participate or not

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<sup>17</sup> I personally transcribed all the interviews in this study.

and were informed that they were free not to answer any question they were not comfortable with, and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. Information sheets and consent forms were provided to all participants.

As many peacekeepers on deployment experience stressful and often disturbing sight, I was alert to this. Provision was made to refer participants to an appointed social worker and psychologist in the case where they recalled emotional experiences that were negative, so that post-deployment stress could be dealt with<sup>18</sup>. Interviews were undertaken in safe environments, at the interviewee's convenient time. It was necessary that interviewers suggested a convenient time to conduct these interviews to ensure that adequate time was allocated and that the interviewees' minds were composed.

The transcribed interviews were kept safely in a locked cabin accessible to no one but the researcher. Pseudonyms were used on the transcripts and in the report, therefore the identity of participants have remained anonymous. The participants were informed of all these measures before the interviews.

Finally, the researcher did not deceive participants in any way such as on the purpose of the study. Every effort was made to uphold the ethics of research. The researcher for instance, did not do or promise anything to participants beyond what was stipulated on the consent forms. Having discussed the research design and methodology, the following section reflects on this process.

#### **4.4 Position of the researcher and methodological reflections**

In terms of my position as a researcher, I presently serve as a constable in the Zambia Police Service and I am aware that this position as a member of the service may have ethical and methodological implications for the study. On the positive side, it means that I could easily relate to those being interviewed. In terms of rank, 'constable' is the lowest rank in the Zambia Police Service and this

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<sup>18</sup> However there was no case requiring such a measure.

meant that it posed no threat to those being interviewed and nobody felt intimidated by the interview.

Another factor that could influence the research process is that I am a man, and a member of the police force and I was aware of this when interviewing female colleagues. Special effort was made to understand their views and experiences. To make sure that female peacekeepers felt comfortable discussing gender related issues, I employed a female research assistant to conduct some of the interviews as stated above. She attended some of my interviews and she was fully briefed on the nature and purpose of the study.

Being an insider (police employee) can have both advantages and disadvantages. Common understandings can facilitate, but also hinder interpretation and the researcher needs to be reflexive. However, the researcher approached the study with an open mind knowing that the environment of peacekeeping and the duties performed while in mission are not identical to the tasks police officers fulfil in their home country. Further, as has been stated, I am of the view that that being a member of the Zambia Police Service facilitated my access to military and police personnel as participants from these institutions trusted me, possibly more so than a civilian who may not understand the nature of police and military culture.

#### **4.5 Reflections and limitations of methodology**

Whilst conducting this study, I faced many challenges and limitations and it is important to reflect on these. One of the limitations of this study is that like many other qualitative studies, the findings cannot be generalised to other settings or populations. The experiences of female peacekeepers differ from one troop contributing country to another and from one peacekeeping mission to the other. The findings of this study are generalisable only to Sudan and South Sudan involving UNAMID and UNMISS respectively. In fact, the experiences of military peacekeepers in this study only apply to UNMISS as all the respondents from the military served under UNMISS. The experiences of military peacekeepers in general and female military peacekeepers in particular who served under UNAMID may be different considering that the mandates of missions differ.



The other limitation of this study is that the findings largely apply to the police and not the military in the sense that the majority of participants came from the police as shown above. I could not strike a balance as it proved extremely difficult to find participants from the military given the limited time and resources that I had<sup>19</sup>. However the study is capable of a ‘moderatum generalization’, in which some aspects of the focus of inquiry (in this case female peacekeepers) “can be seen to be instances of a broader set of recognisable features” (Bryman, 2012:406). A total of 50 research participants were interviewed until the point of saturation and this does provide some depth to this study.

A major challenge was gaining access to research participants, especially those from the Zambia Army. The researcher had to wait for the UN Army Liaison Officer to avail participants and this proved time consuming. On top of this, there was a general reluctance among military personnel to participate in the study, as they were concerned that this may influence their careers in some way. The liaison officer had to labour to convince the participants of the relevance of the study. It also proved difficult to gain access to police participants especially those from Lusaka Division Headquarters. Even though I had institutional permission to conduct the study with police officers, staff officers at Lusaka Division Headquarters could not allow me to proceed, stating that the institutional permission granted was not specifically addressed to them. This proved frustrating, but the researcher made efforts to secure some participants. However, generally I found that once the interviews commenced, both the police officers and military personnel interviewed were keen to share their experiences with me as someone who understood the nature of their work.

The other challenge arose from the fact that that I was dealing with two institutions, both at the practical and theoretical level within a limited period of time. The fact that I could not interview more military personnel, affected one of my research objectives which is to see whether or not the military and police peacekeepers experience their deployments differently. However, I do believe that with the data collected, it is possible to, at the very least, draw some preliminary conclusions

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<sup>19</sup> The UN army liaison officer informed me that I needed to travel the entire country just to conduct 10 more interviews with female military peacekeepers as they were scattered in different town. This proved practically impossible.

from the data collected. This will now be expanded upon in the next chapter which will provide a description of the primary data obtained from the interviews.

#### **4.6 Summary**

The chapter has discussed the research strategy that this study employed. It has also stated the population and site of the study, and has gone further to provide a description of the sample size and selection criteria, data collection methods, data processing and analysis and ethical considerations. Further, the chapter has indicated the methodological factors that the researcher had to take into consideration in light of the fact that the researcher is a constable in the Zambia Police Service. Finally, the limitations of the methodology have been provided. The next chapter analyses the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report on findings in relation to the research aim and objectives spelt out in Chapter 1. This is done according to the various themes. These themes are: selection and recruitment of peacekeepers, training of peacekeepers, the role of female peacekeepers, female peacekeepers' numbers, the challenges faced by female police and military peacekeepers, and gender balance and unit composition. These factors are discussed because in all research studies it is imperative for research to be based on theoretical frameworks, since it is necessary to analyse data according to chosen theoretical perspectives underlying the study. This will enable us to determine whether or not there is a relationship between theory and practice.

### 5.2 Findings

#### 5.2.1 *Selection and recruitment of peacekeepers*

One of the objectives of this study was to get the views of women in the military and the police as to why the number of female peacekeepers remain small in UN peacekeeping operations. As mentioned, both the police and military have set their recruitment targets at 30% for women, but this is not reflected in the number of women deployed. This is because there is a different selection process for peacekeepers. How these members are selected, differs markedly between the military and police. In terms of the police, men and women go through the same process and have to undergo what is referred to as Selection Assistance and Assessment Team (SAAT) test. This involves an oral interview, written test, computer test, driving test and range shooting. A female police officer explains as follows:

*It [the selection] was through SAAT (Selection Assistance and Assessment Team). First of all you write a test, you read within specified time you read, then there is a comprehension. You write 10 [questions], 10 [questions] you answer them for you to qualify you should have gotten 8 or above 8 out of 10. Then the second one is listening comprehension, the second one and the third one there're for listening comprehension and it has got 10 questions as well as the first one. And the third one it's listening from the radio number 2 and 3. But in all these tests you are phased out if you fail in one phase. From the third one you go for driving test. This driving you pass through the cones then cross country. You go*

*on the road where you observe a lot of traffic signs. Then the last stage you go through is shooting. Here they are not strict whether you're very good or not because there're two kinds of mission, there is armed mission and non-armed.*

These tests are done by male and female police officers and there is no difference in terms of the criteria used for the selection to go on peace missions. The accounts show that except for the shooting stage, it is necessary for one to meet the requirements of SAAT in order to qualify for peacekeeping. It is important to state here that the possession of a valid driver's license with a minimum driving experience of two years are some of the requirements for one to qualify as a candidate for the (SAAT) test. This however is not enough, one has to undergo the actual driving test in order for the SAAT to ascertain the level of one's driving competence. This is one of the aspects that affect the selection of women, as many do not have this experience or have less driving experience as compared to men. As a result women are underrepresented in peacekeeping missions. Peacekeeping missions become male dominated not only in authority but also in number. The figures of Zambian peacekeepers in terms of gender below will attest to this.

Of interest, is that military or army personnel did not have to go through any interview or selection process. When asked how they were selected for peacekeeping, military personnel stated that they were just informed that they had to go for peacekeeping. A female troop stated that *"I was called by the UN Desk and they informed me that I was one of the people selected to go for peacekeeping."* In terms of the military, it appears as if their selection was based on the specific training they had received and the posts to which they were recruited, as explained by a male officer:

*Well usually people are taken from sections. The UN usually specifies the category of personnel they need. So in our mission they needed an officer with the knowledge of logistics. So the message was specific that they needed an officer under logistics and that's how command picked me.*

Once the UN has specified the categories of personnel they need, the army just selects them without necessarily having to subject personnel to any form of interview or screening process apart from obvious medicals. Next the objective was to examine how peacekeepers are prepared for these missions in terms of the training they receive.

### 5.2.2 Training of Peacekeepers

It is important to train peacekeepers because their effectiveness is determined by the training they undergo. Police and military personnel in Zambia do not go through similar training just like they do not go through a similar recruitment process. This section looks at how police and military peacekeepers are prepared for peacekeeping.

Interesting differences also emerged in terms of the training personnel receive for peace missions. Interviews with former police peacekeepers revealed that generally police personnel do not undergo pre-deployment training, unless this was for a very special case or task. However participants stated that they underwent an induction program once they arrived in the host country and this induction program lasted two weeks. During this induction the police peacekeepers are familiarized with the mandate of the mission, the do's and don'ts of the mission, and the culture of the local population among other things. The following statements attest to this:

*There is no training but when you reach the mission area there is induction where you are told, it is like lessons, you are told what you are supposed to do in the mission area. We were told in the mission area what we expect, the do's and the don'ts. First of all we looked at the mandate of the mission like what you're supposed to do as UNPOL that is as United Nations Police because there are specific tasks for the UN military as well as the UN police so you undergo training on the mandate of UNPOL. In this mandate there are issues of human rights, how you're supposed to uphold the human rights of all people in that country.*

When asked about whether they received any training related to gender, they indicated that they did and that in most cases men and women were separated when this was provided. : *"We used to train most of the cases that were being trained by the UN were for gender based violence, those are the most cases that we used to learn". "Mainly it is the women who attended workshops on gender but sometimes even us men could attend together with women"* For the police, a lot of emphasis was placed on gender based violence and this is where female peacekeepers are believed to be able to make a unique contribution as they are more likely to have to deal with these cases.

From the accounts of both male and female police officers, they seem to have a good grasp of issues of gender. However, it seems that an understanding of gender issues depends on where one comes from as explained by a female peacekeeper:

*Actually when we go for courses some other countries there is no human rights so they used to learn from us Zambians, we could teach them and actually the NGOs used to appreciate very much especially on gender because us even when we were going there we knew what gender was but other countries it was new there.*

A marked difference between the selection and training of police and military peacekeepers is how they are prepared for these missions. Unlike in the police that go through a pre-selection and have training in the host country, military personnel undergo at least three months of mission-readiness training prior to the deployment. This training is gender neutral and at all times men and women train together. During the mission readiness training, military personnel have to complete infantry type training which involves ground tactics, which is very physical in nature. The military peacekeepers explained this training as follows:

*We had to undergo training for three months. There are a lot of things involved in training. There is physical part for endurance and yes the training is one both for males and females and when you are going with contingents there is nothing like I am an officer or soldier. Then they also tell you the type of people where you are going and their culture.*

*We underwent training for three months.....Mostly the training involved physic and also the terrain of the country where we were going.*

It is clear that the training emphasises masculine traits and had little attention paid to the gender dimension of their deployment. In fact, in their discussion of their training and mission-readiness preparation, one hardly hears the term ‘gender’. This is because the over-riding emphasis is on gender equality, where women are expected to meet the same physical requirements as men in terms of their training. The female soldiers explained:

*Yes there is no separate training ... men and women we train together. In the army there is nothing like I am a woman or what as long as you're in the army you have to everything*

*that men are doing. Because that's why you joined the Army..... What a man can [do] if he can do it I can also do it.*

When asked whether female personnel manage especially the physical part of the UN training there was also consensus among male soldiers who are themselves UN training instructors: *"Yes they manage, just like male soldiers."*

However the fact that women and men train together says nothing about the standard of that training, nor does it refute the clear distinctions in physical strength between men and women (McLean, 2011:23). Sometimes the standard may be lowered to accommodate female personnel. In fact' this is what was observed by one male officer who underwent UN training together with contingents: *"Ya they (female military personnel) were managing you know when you are training with ladies there is that flexibility."*

What the above then indicates is that for police officers, because of the roles they fulfil in law enforcement, there is some training that is gender specific in cases where female peacekeepers receive specific training. However, for the military, because male and female soldiers perform the same tasks and these may involve going on physical patrols, the training is the same as men and women are expected to assimilate masculine values and to meet the given standards to be judged as capable soldiers.

### *5.2.3 The role of female police peacekeepers*

This section presents the role of female police peacekeepers. One of the objectives of this study was to examine the extent to which women are making a unique contribution to peace operations based on their gender. Claims are made that women have easy access to the local population because of their friendliness, that they deter male peacekeepers' misconduct and that they are able to address SGBV offences. It appears from the findings that male and female peacekeepers perform the same duties. For police officers these include community sensitisation especially in IDP camps and villages, capacity building for the local police and information gathering and in all these tasks both female and male police officers are involved. What emerged is that there is no difference between men and women in terms roles and women are no better than men at this. A male police officer made the following comment:

*The roles of female peacekeepers! ... there is no difference between the female peacekeeper and the male peacekeeper you do the same job. Yes you can be an officer in charge of a CPC [Community Police Centre], a police station you can play any other role like a man.*

Despite probing into whether women contribute in unique ways, no clear answers emerged. In fact, it was almost as if asking this question was not well received. One male police officer expressed his frustration: *“I tend to wonder why women are sent there, saying women are more knowledgeable, and women are more sensitive. It’s the same training to start with so there is no difference.”*

This shows that male peacekeepers especially do not recognise that women are equal to, but different from men in the sense that they do not appreciate the unique contribution of female peacekeepers. This is unfortunate considering that the special qualities of women serve as a motivation to recruit more women in PKOs.

Responses from female and male police indicate that they are utilised in three main areas, just like their male counterparts. As previously indicated, these include capacity building for the local police, information gathering and sensitisation of local communities especially in IDP camps and villages, and protection of internally displaced persons. Some of these tasks were described as follows by a male police peacekeeper:

*So we were working with the police there, being at the enquiries office. Being at the enquiries office guiding them how to write in the OB [Occurrence Book], what to do, how to receive cases so that the complainant is not harassed, he sees to it that these people are really to assist me. And also our role was to train the local police officers there. We could give them lectures such as on the care and custody of prisoners, how they should treat the accused person and things like that.*

Female police officers gave similar statements:

*We were involved in capacity building of the local police, what I mean is we used to teach how police work should be done according to international standards. In Sudan especially in Darfur where I was the way the officers are working there it’s not up to the standards,*



*like the international standards so we used to teach them how police work should be done – [Did you do this as men and women?] Yes we were working together men and women. One of our role was to teach local police officers there the proper way of doing police work otherwise those people are still behind.*

What these findings show is that male and female police peacekeepers perform the same functions in terms of their key tasks namely information gathering and community sensitisation, protection of IDPs and capacity building. Here gender does not matter.

In terms of capacity building I wanted to know whether women were teaching only their fellow women local police officers .A female and male police officer stated:

*No we were not separating them we were teaching them together men and women. Actually we used to share the lessons this one talks on arrests or detention the other one may be on the rights of the accused persons. And sometimes we were just working with them and whilst working you tell them how to go about it.*

*Any one either male or female could talk to the local officers, there at least with officers there is no such thing like I am a male police officer I can't talk to a female police officer when you are on duty we used to talk to the female officers. We could talk to both male and female officers on matters of police work and even female officers could do the same, they could talk to male officers.*

The findings show that there is no cultural restriction when peacekeepers are dealing with local police officers in the sense that male peacekeepers can talk to female local officers and female peacekeepers are free to talk to male local officers. Therefore both male and female peacekeepers have the same audience when doing capacity building. The situation is not the same though when it comes to members of the local community as indicated below.

Peacekeepers are involved in information gathering in host countries (Cordell, 2011:33) and in sensitising local communities on various aspects (Mckee, 2004:70). In most cases this involved visiting IDP camps and talking to people about human rights and the rule of law and asking them

questions about the security situation, or what their specific problems are. However, none of these tasks seemed to have a specific gender dimension and both men and women performed these tasks equally.

However, when it came to gathering information and community sensitisation, here gender seemed to matter as explained by a female police officer:

*On a daily basis we used to go to these IDPs, the internally displaced peoples' camps and when you go there you have to ask them if they experienced any crime, any incidence of rape or theft and so on.....We could go as a team but when we reached there we separated women officers were talking to their fellow women you know because of their culture it's not in order for a man to speak to a woman or women even if you are an officer so even us men we were dealing with our fellow men.*

This shows that while male and female peacekeepers did the same functions, their audience differs when it comes to talking to members of the community. Women peacekeepers were only talking to local women and male peacekeepers to the local men. This is because the local culture does not allow men to speak to women and vice-versa.

What became clear from the interviews is just how this local culture and patriarchal values influenced the way in which peacekeepers were able to interact with the local community. This was explained as follows by some of the police peacekeepers:

*So us women were talking to our fellow women and even the men were talking to their fellow men. May be you know in Sudan their culture doesn't allow men to be talking to women just as women we could not talk to men. You know there in South Sudan just like in Sudan their culture is not like ours here where as a man you can be free to talk to a woman.....So when you are sensitising them on something even just gathering information in the IDP you as men you only interact with your fellow men only and the women they will just be interacting with their fellow women so that was the situation.*

*Women were only dealing with their fellow women and us men we were only talking to our fellow men. In Sudan there men can't listen to women, they don't have much confidence in*

*women but they protect their women that's why they don't want a situation where men are talking to their women, they are jealousy of their women those people.*

The above findings show just how important it is to have more female peacekeepers on these missions. Without them, local women are not able to voice their concerns as they are not permitted to speak to male peacekeepers.

Police Peacekeepers are also involved in the protection of internally displaced persons around their IDPs or when they are going to fetch firewood in the case of women (Mooney, 2010:69). Female police peacekeepers stated that they were involved in this task:

*When you are in the morning shift we used to protect women, when women are going to fetch this, firewood, you need to protect them if you don't protect them they will be raped, some will be killed so most of the time it was protection of women and children.*

*It was our duty to escort the women when they go outside the camp like when they go for firewood. We had to escort them otherwise anything could happen to them.*

In this regard I was interested to know whether the task of escorting local women was only performed by female peacekeepers. The response was that this is generally done by a team of both male and female peacekeepers:

*Also our duty was to protect women when they go outside the IDP camp like when they are going for firewood. **[Was it only women involved in this?]** – We were all involved in protecting women and even escorting women when they are going to fetch firewood. Every time we used to move it was a team of men and women, in fact we also had soldiers with firearms because for us as police officers we were not carrying arms<sup>20</sup>.*

*Sometimes we could escort those women when they're going for firewood..... **[Where there ladies in these escort teams?]** – All these duties we used to do them as men and women. Where ever you're going at least there must be men and women so that if something*

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<sup>20</sup> In non- armed missions police officers do not carry fire arms

*happens maybe for example a woman is raped then those female officers in the team will attend to her not you male officers.*

This shows that you need the combined strengths of both men and women in terms of escorting women outside the camp. It is also important to state that armed protection was provided for by soldiers, as police officers in the particular missions looked at in this study did not carry firearms.

Research shows that female peacekeepers have access to local populations and especially to women and children (Vallénus, 2007; Cordell, 2011). Based on the comments, it does appear as if women peacekeepers are the only ones who had access to women and were the ones dealing with gender issues. The following statements from female police officers attest to this:

*You know when it comes to dealing with gender or issues to do with women and children it was only women who were dealing with those issues....There in Sudan it is not allowed for a man to speak to a woman even a woman to speak to a man.*

*So but to us fellow peacekeepers we would do everything together but with the locals it was different. When we go to deal with the locals some other cases we can deal [together with male officers] but those concerning gender it was specifically for women.*

Again what comes out clearly here is a cultural aspect that necessitates women to speak to their fellow women. It shows us that a mission without women does nothing to help local women which in most cases are the victims of gendered violence. Male officers stated similar views:

*So you find women and children are the ones facing a lot of problems so there are some problems where women do not disclose when men are the ones approaching them so women are supposed to be part of the squad. You can't speak to a woman directly that's why women police officers were involved there. Ya you can't interact with women in short according to their culture.*

So what this shows is that in these operations it is mainly women and children who are affected. Having gender mixed squads is therefore imperative, especially in those cultural contexts where men are forbidden to talk to local women. However, the above statements do not show that women have easy access to local populations. In fact, the contrary is true as both male and female police

peacekeepers stated that the attitude of the local population towards UN peacekeepers tends to be hostile and this limits their freedom of movement and access to information.

While gender is not about women, almost all women police peacekeepers interviewed served as gender officers. The gender section concerns itself with issues of women and children. While a focus on women and children is a noble work, some male officers did not see it as such: *“Women officers ... ah I just used to assign them to issues of women and children”*. The other officer stated: *“In most cases women when they go there they’re attached to gender because there’re able to talk to women. A woman is not supposed to be despised, she is not a slave so a woman [peacekeeper] will talk to women like that. If the husband commits an offence the woman will [report] so most women when they go there they are attached to gender, what else can they do?”*

The question then is ‘what type of issues do these peacekeepers raise with the gender advisers’? What became clear from the findings is that much of these conversations were about how to deal with incidences of sexual violence, the steps to be taken in reporting such cases and matters of hygiene. A female police peacekeeper explains this as follows:

*Usually we used to enlighten them on the offences like defilement, rape spouse battering. We could encourage them to take precautions and to report such cases to the police. Men in Darfur how they beat them [women] they can treat a woman like any how they feel like treating them. So we used to tell them what they should do if they are beaten like they should not just keep quiet but should report to the police. We could talk to them on lessons of hygiene how to take care of their children, how they should keep their families and things like that.*

The above findings show that while male and female peacekeepers perform the same tasks, when engaging with the local population their work is gender segregated. This is problematic, as female peacekeepers are in the minority and most of those affected by the armed conflict are women and children. So this places an enormous burden on female peacekeepers.

Respondents also stated that they had to interact with members of the community in IDP camps on a daily bases to ask how the security situation has been especially during the night. However

interactions which involved lessons were done once or twice a month and this required prior permission of the local chiefs (Shirks). All communication between peacekeepers and members of the community required the use of an interpreter and this proved a challenge. Peacekeepers stated that they were accompanied by interpreters where ever they went for official duties as shown by the following statements:

*We used to move with interpreters everywhere we went. You cannot go for duties without interpreters who are employed by the UN.*

*You have to be with interpreters everywhere you go because people there don't understand English, there they use different language.....The interpreters are local people who are employed by the UN and these are the people who interprets in the local languages.*

*We used to move as a team and in every team there must be an interpreter otherwise you cannot communicate with the local people.*

One of the claims made in the literature is that female peacekeepers are able to address discrimination and inequalities within host societies. When asked whether there were lessons on gender equality, the following response shows that women were careful not to temper with the deeply entrenched patriarchal culture of the local population. In this regard, it seemed as if peacekeepers played more of an educational and support role, than trying to address the underlying causes of gender inequality and GBV as explained below:

*No, but instead we just preferred to tell them just in case one is raped, one is harassed you're supposed to take precautions, go to the hospital medical check-up such things. We were teaching like how they should keep their families, as women they are supposed to be creative at least they should cultivate, we teach them we motivate them.*

Nonetheless, it does seem as if the female police peacekeepers served as an inspiration to the local communities and created an environment where lessons of gender equality and non-discrimination were observed. There seemed to be a kind of admiration and respect and even envy that women are capable of more things. A female police peacekeeper reflected on this by stating:

*So when they see us even the way we could walk you know when we are going for community service awareness we could hear comments that this the type of police that we need here [be]cause they don't have that type of police the way I have explained to you they would envy us– [ **those are women?** ] – Women yes even men could comment that we wish our women could reach that level. Yes you know because there their culture women there are not taken to school so when we were there and they see what we were doing they get motivated saying even women can do this.*

What is clear from the above statements is that the role of female peacekeepers is not different from that of men. The only difference is that women talk to their fellow women while men talk to their fellow men. This is not because women are more qualified to deal with fellow women nor are men more qualified to deal with men, rather it is the culture of the local population which does not allow women to speak to men and vice versa (Puechguirbal, 2003:126).

Again contrary to arguments that the local women feel free to report SGBV cases to female peacekeepers (Puechguirbal, 2003:116), responses from female peacekeepers reviewed that none of them received such a report from local women. However, few responses show that women peacekeepers helped address cases of sexual exploitation once these cases were reported at police stations. Their main role on this part bordered on sensitisation. They had to check on the security situation especially in IDP camps, sensitise members of the community especially on matters of child defilement, rape, spouse battering and on the procedure to take once these cases have occurred. Thus what one sees is that peacekeepers provide the bridging capital that enabled local women to report cases, but they themselves did not actually engage with the victims of sexual violence.

#### *5.2.4 The role of female military peacekeepers*

The experience of military personnel given their different roles diverge somewhat from their police counterparts, although there is some convergence. Similar to the police, military peacekeepers whether male or female perform exactly the same roles. Female military peacekeepers perform all the duties that men do such as conducting patrols, escorts guard duties and catering. A female soldier stated: *“That side they don't consider when the time comes to go for patrol there is nothing*

*like you are a woman or what women do the same duties that a man can do*". However, there are some duties that can only be performed by women, such as searching women and attending to female staff who fall sick who are attended to only by women as explained by a male peacekeeper: *"You as a man you're not allowed to search a woman so ladies play a role of searching. Even in our hospitals it's only women officers who attend to female staff"*.

In terms of the military women interviewed in this study, none of them were involved in searching (because there were no checkpoints) and none of them were involved in the medical section. Most of the military female peacekeepers in the mission area served in support branches such as medical, catering, clerical, and administrative sections with very few performing infantry type roles. One military male officer who served on two missions stated that *"usually women are in catering, clerical, some were drivers others were in medical and a few in the infantry role"*. This shows that in general there is a gendered division of labour in peacekeeping missions and that not many of these women are actually out on patrol, or perform combat related tasks.

This explains why female military personnel only really came into contact with the local population during social events, such as during sporting activities. During these events, the women did not discuss their security situation or report incidences of SGBV. This is consistent with the findings of Heineken (2013), namely that military personnel do not frequently interact with the local population. Their role is almost exclusively one of providing security and protection. One police officer actually spelt this out clearly when he explained the division of labour on peace missions between the military and police when he stated that *"the work there is for police officers because soldiers just provide security for police officers"*.

Military personnel themselves confirmed this, which is why it is so important in studies like this to understand the different roles that police and military peacekeepers play. Generally they are seen to do the same things and in the literature few scholars actually make the distinction and treat all peacekeepers as if they do the same tasks. As indicated, police personnel are essentially involved in law enforcement, while military personnel provide protection:



*Our duties was mainly to do with patrols and sometimes escorts.....We were interacting with members of the community during sports just to socialise. What we used to do on a daily basis was to conduct patrols..... When it is sports time may be once or twice a month we used to meet the community you play football and the ladies also used to play netball with the women there.*

What became clear is that military peacekeepers actually have limited interactions with members of the community as compared to female police peacekeepers and are mostly involved in patrols and escorting of persons needing to engage with the local community.

Even so, female military peacekeepers felt that because they were serving alongside men, this was a symbol of equality and served as an inspiration to the local population. The following statements from female peacekeepers confirm this:

*They'll look at you and say to themselves there're also women who can do this. They will encourage their children as well to start going to school because you know most of these Moslem countries and Arabic countries women are not allowed to go to school because for them that's not their duty. They – [local men] – were surprised they were even admiring saying you are very strong.*

Male soldiers held similar views:

*You may be using English, but you may hear what this person says at least and at least when they see women solders they were very happy – [they were very happy?] – Very happy there're saying there're even women soldiers. [They] will even say we also want to employ female soldiers.*

I then enquired whether they thought that the presence of female peacekeepers helped to change the mind-set of the local community. This of course is something difficult to determine but it does seem as if some cultural norms had shifted in terms of what women were permitted to wear as explained by a male military peacekeeper:

*I think it does like previously in Sudan ladies could not were a pair of trousers you know according to their culture. But when they see female peacekeepers in trousers they begin to change. Like by 2009 there was a change and ladies could put on trousers. They praised UN for being models.*

In reality, female peacekeepers have very little interaction with the locals beyond their normal duties, such as when they go to the market. However, when they do go they too are expected to abide by the cultural norms and practices of the local culture for example, not wearing trousers and to dress ‘appropriately’. So they too are expected to conform to patriarchal attitudes, values and norms in order to avoid ridicule. The other issue is: ‘to what extent can they really influence the local population given that they form only a very small component of the mission’? For example as at 30<sup>th</sup> September 2015, UNAMID had a total of only 857 female police and military peacekeepers out of a total of 17,746 military and police personnel deployed representing a mere 4.8%. Similarly, UNMISS had a total of 623 female police and military personnel out of a total of 12,783 personnel deployed representing about 4.9% (UN, 2015a).

There are many factors which explain why women are underrepresented on these missions. One of them is that women make up a small percentage of operational forces in their home countries in the army and the military (Odanović, 2010:75). Other factors include family considerations that female personnel have to take into account, the fears associated with peacekeeping (Hudson, 2010; Dharmapuri, 2013) and the inability to meet the requirements such as being able to drive a manual shift 4x4 motor vehicle in the case of police personnel (Bastick and de Torres, 2010:22).

#### 5.2.5 Female peacekeepers’ numbers

When discussing why the percentage of female peacekeepers remain low, most explained this in terms of the actual numbers in their own military, for example “*But even in the army women are very few like in the Zambia Army women are very few like 30% women 70% men*”, Others again mentioned that when it comes to deployment, women carry a heavier burden in terms of family responsibilities as seen by the following comment:

*You men if you go there your women at least will be just waiting for you now in our cases it’s a different thing. When you come back there are a lot of issues (laughter) other people they have even led to the divorces because they [women] go there and the man is alone. The man is alone he will be tempted to do all sorts of things. A man would leave home leaving the wife at home and the children and that one you expect the children to be very safe with*

*the mother. Unlike the mother going out leaving the children with the husband it's a challenge.*

This is one of the greatest challenges facing both military and police female peacekeepers, especially where they do not have the necessary support structure back home or are single parents. The stress of these responsibilities and being away for between six to twelve months is extremely taxing on women.

Other factors that affect the numbers of women deployed is the actual selection process. In the army, the ability to meet the physical demands of infantry type training appears to be a challenge to women, which explains why their numbers remain low. In the police, it looks as if it is the inability of many women to meet the requirements of the selection test and the actual process that poses a challenge. As previously stated, all the candidates of the SAAT test are required to have a valid driver's license and two years driving experience. It is therefore surprising that a number of women still cannot go through the driving test. When I asked why this is the case respondents indicated that it is because of the lack of confidence among female candidates.

*You can know how to drive but when you are being tested you find you start shivering but quiet alright you know how to drive but you start shivering and you find other people are just looking so because of that fear I think that's why most women fail but even men they fail. It's just that you know when you are being tested there is a way it is, you know that now I am being tested and observed so sometimes you start fearing and that why when it comes to driving there is nothing like I have been driving for ten years we have seen people failing even those who have been driving for ten or fifteen years – **[So Even men fail?]** – yes some men also but may be for women its worse. I think also women just have low [self] esteem and so sometimes they're scared you know just to go and do the driving test they just have that low self-esteem but I think women should be motivated to attend.*

These were just some of the issues identified by the peacekeepers that they see as the cause of women being under-represented on peace missions. However, it is also the nature of these missions and the challenges that they pose to women that can deter them from volunteering to serve on missions such as those in Sudan, given the harsh and dangerous conditions of these deployments.

### 5.2.6 Challenges faced by female peacekeepers

Female peacekeepers face a number of challenges just like their male counterparts and these challenges affect their utilisation. These include the masculine environment of peacekeeping missions (Lopes, 2012:2-3), negative perception of male peacekeepers towards female peacekeepers (McLean, 2011) and exposure to Sexual Gender Based Violence (Simić, 2010:119).

What was interesting is that despite the fact that both military and police peacekeepers mentioned that women were in a better position to interact with the local community, especially women and children who are often the only ones in the villages, they said that one of the difficulties was actually gathering information. One of the reasons for this is that the security situation of the host country did not allow them to move anywhere, or where they needed to be in order to gather the information.

A female police peacekeeper explained:

*When you go outside the camp you have to be escorted, when you go to the market you go escorted. You can't so it's very difficult to get information but you can hear rumours in this village like a woman has been harassed in this village, a woman has been battered, but how to get the information, it's the biggest challenge, how to get the information.*

So while it is claimed that peacekeepers are able to interact with the local community and address their problems they are very much outsiders, limited not only by their mandate, but by their ability to engage with the local population due to security and language issues. There was also resistance to having peacekeepers interfere in what is seen as local problems, as explained by a male police peacekeeper:

*Interaction especially with locals was very difficult. When the conflict is on tribal bases the local police officers will say it was sorted out, but the complaining party will say it wasn't sorted out. Sometimes the same local police officers will follow the complainant and tell him that don't give information to UN police officers. Sometimes you find the complainant has shifted.*

This has a lot to do with how peacekeepers in the host country are viewed and the level of trust afforded them. Especially in Sudan, the peacekeepers often face hostility from the local population who see them as bringing with them their western ways, or see them as spies. A female police peacekeeper explains this as follows:

*Then the local people look at you as peacekeepers they have a lot of suspicion. Some of them think that peacekeepers are not genuine, they think that peacekeepers are spying on them so there is a lot of suspicion, they can't even give you information. It's very difficult to interact with the local people there you know because they used to regard us as spies for America. There is a challenge in getting information in the mission because those people there maybe it's because of what they have gone through they don't trust people they don't know including peacekeepers themselves.*

While the peacekeepers had noble intentions and in most cases only wanted to help the local population, this was not always received positively. Although peacekeepers had some basic understanding of the local religion and culture, this was rudimentary and there was not a great understanding of the power relations imbedded in culture. Understandably then, some of the lessons provided by peacekeepers to the local women were not received well because this conflicted with local culture. A female peacekeeper explains:

*Then there also you know there is Sharia law and Sharia law does not regard human rights and women's rights so it was a challenge for them to understand the issues. For example, there they don't believe in using condoms so it's a problem. Like when you talk about family planning all those things those people they were behind they say they don't believe in family planning. Ya even hearing about the condoms, whatever things, like it's a taboo to them.*

While peacekeepers were not involved in condom distribution, for many peacekeepers who come from countries where gender equality and the rights of women are respected, it was difficult for them to grasp this. Especially, seeing how women are treated, how they are raped, the lack of security they experience and the burden they carry both in terms of their household responsibilities and caring for the children.

What made it really difficult for the peacekeepers to engage with the local community was the language barrier. While the UN employs local people as language assistants or interpreters, it is often difficult for peacekeepers to gather information using interpreters. The peacekeepers mentioned how in some cases the interpreters would twist the information when it goes contrary to the local culture. The following statements by female police officers attest to this:

*So you find that sometimes these interpreters may twist what you say. Like there is a time when I was presenting something and the interpreter was interpreting but one of the listeners asked something else which gave me an indication that the interpreter was twisting the information. Sometimes you find this interpreter is changing the information because of their culture. For example especially when you are dealing with cases of rape or defilement you find that maybe what you are telling them is not acceptable in their culture so the interpreter tell them something else that you have not said. Because for some of us who stayed almost three years in Darfur we could understand the local language a bit so we could tell that the interpreter is saying something else.*

This is a typical problem experienced by peacekeepers when deployed in foreign countries and in Sudan, where women are not educated and few speak English or can converse with peacekeepers other than through an interpreter, it is an obvious problem. How then, can their security needs be addressed when there are these language and cultural barriers? This becomes even more complicated where there are other underlying power dynamics, such as where the interpreter belongs to a different religion or race and is interpreting information from a different audience as explained by a peacekeeper:

*Then again because there Christians and Muslims don't go along it will be like if the interpreter is Christian and the group of people you are talking to are Muslims, then the people won't even pay attention because they used to know that this interpreter is a Christian or a Muslim so if themselves belong to a different religion they will think that you as UN officers are conspiring with the interpreter so they won't even listen to what you are telling them.*

What one can see from this is that the problem of translation is not only about the information that is translated, but how the translator is viewed in relation to the peacekeepers. This can have a major impact on trust relations to the extent that it can even tarnish the mission by exacerbating tensions along existing fault lines.

Then there are the challenges posed by the actual mission environment given the nature of these missions and the physical and psychological challenges they pose (UN 2006:8; Giraud, 2004:29;

Milošević, 2012:5). Many of the duties, specifically those of military personnel are physically and mentally demanding. A lot of the work is physical lifting and moving of equipment and goods, or being on patrols with a full kit for long periods at a time which requires endurance and stamina. As many of the women do not have the physical strength they tend to not want to do these tasks and this causes some resentment among the men as expressed in the following comment by a male soldier: *“She can’t go and sign for a gun and go on patrols ... she then starts complaining. They [women] just want money, or maybe pleasure they forget that they are there for work.”*

Many women made the comment that women prefer to stay on base and not even go out driving for long trips. Another factor that disadvantages women is that they often do not have the same operational experience as men and appear to be not quite as ‘battle hardy’ as many of the male peacekeepers have deployed before. An army officer explains his experience of having women under his command and how they reacted to gun shots when their base was caught in the crossfire:

*The other time there was fighting between SAF [Sudanese Armed Forces] and SPLA [Sudanese People’s Liberation Party] and our camp was just in between so women started crying saying no we want to go home.*

This is because for many of these women, often young women serving on their first mission the only time they ever handled a weapon or heard gun shots was on the shooting range during training. The same applies to the men the first time they deployed and it seemed as if some of the male soldiers understood this and gave the women the assurance that they had a very powerful weapon to protect themselves and that they need not be afraid. A male soldier explains:

*In case this same weapon [powerful weapon] if it is fired some of our women because they have never heard about that sound of that weapon they were becoming very jittery but we were just calming them down saying this kind of weapon is so so so.*

The female soldiers concurred that being in this actual operational environment, hearing the gun shots and having to do duties at night was a challenge because it was “very scary”. Due to this many of the male soldiers felt that women are not suited to these kind of tasks because they are not meant to fight and have. Also because women have to deal with other problems like menstruation which inhibits their abilities to cope with their duties. Some of the male respondents explained this as follows:



*The other thing is that women's bodies at certain times don't function, like you know the way women's bodies are when they begin menstruating, their bodies become disabled, they cannot do anything. You know menstruating, it becomes a challenge for them especially when it is long patrol. I remember a certain case a male supervisor was telling a female peacekeeper to go on patrol but the woman was trying to tell this officer that her body wasn't ok but the man could not understand he kept insisting that she should go for patrol.*

The women agreed that the main problem with menstruation was that when they had to go on patrols there was no opportunity or facilities to change when and where this was required. A female peacekeeper explains:

*It's a challenge for us women to go on long patrols so sometimes you try to excuse yourself [Why?]. Sometimes you just want to rest and as a woman maybe your periods [menstruating period] have begun.*

Before leaving this section it is important to state that issues bordering on sexuality such as sexual harassment of female soldiers and police officers did not emerge during the course of the conversations with peacekeepers. When probed about sexual harassment the female peacekeepers stated that they never experienced it and that the UN considers sexual offences to be serious violations of peacekeepers' code of conduct.

Given that women are in the minority and this is virtually an all-male environment, I found this surprising, but it could also be that women did not want to talk about this.

#### *5.2.7 Gender balance and unit composition*

Given that women are in the minority, I wanted to establish what they thought would be a good gender balance on these missions, which could assist them in overcoming the performance pressure, role encapsulation and social isolation that they experience as a minority group. They were asked what they would recommend in terms of the ratio of men to women in peacekeeping missions. In this regard, all female police officers stated that there should be more women in PKOs and that they should represent at least 50% of total peacekeepers. One reason given for this is that there is no specific job for either men or women. One female police officer stated: *"Because there are no jobs which are specifically for males that side."* The other reason given is that police peacekeepers



do not go there as fighters, so there is no reason to exclude women on the grounds that they are not good fighters in the police. The other reason given for including more women is because their job is sensitivity training and law enforcement, that there are many jobs where women are specifically required, especially in contexts where gender matters such as in Sudan and South Sudan. A female police officer justified this as follows:

*There is a lot of work for women so for me even to have equal numbers of men and women if it was possible its only that even in the system [police service] women are few compared to men but otherwise there is a lot of work in these war torn countries because the majority of the victims there are women and children.*

Male police peacekeepers recognised this, but were less in favour of a 50/50 ratio but felt strongly that there should be more female peacekeepers than there presently is. *“At least the number of women should increase more than it is now because in most cases women and children are the ones mostly affected by war so definitely we need more women.”* However, there were also many tasks that require physical strength and in this regard women are as good as men in terms of their performance and are unable to do certain duties. There appeared to be some resentment that women tended to not want to go on patrols but wanted to *“just be within the base and office”* and that they are *“just there to make money”*. There was also the feeling that women even though *“their performance is not very good but you find out that they are being favoured”*. Added to this there was a feeling that *“generally speaking men work more than women but you will find that they get better posts. Mostly they are favoured.”* Male police peacekeepers were often quite critical of women for wanting gender equality, but then using their gender not to do certain things that are considered ‘men’s work as reflected in the following comments by male peacekeepers:

*Sometimes even driving she will be saying this is a man’s duty. So you get surprised how she acquired a [driving] permit. So I see that there is no need to have more women, women are flowers.*

*I think what I have seen is that most women want to do easy things. They do not want things that are tough. Like mostly for example you want to go for patrol they will excuse themselves mostly they say you know me I am a woman so I can’t do this just go as men.*

With regard to the military, the views differed. Here both female and male military peacekeepers stated that men should be in the majority based on reasons related to the operational environment and on due to both the physical and psychological pressures these missions pose, which affect men and women differently in the course of their duties. The following comments were made by female military peacekeepers:

*No men I think should be many. – [Why?] – I think men are stronger than women. There should be more men – [Why?] – Sometimes things are hard.*

*Because of the nature of the job that is there, a 50/50 no I would say. I would say 80%/30%.*

*You can have a certain percentage of women but not to say it should be as equal as men no.*

What this shows is that there is a recognition that generally men are more suited to military type roles because of the physical differences between men and women, but also because of the harsh conditions. Similar views were also expressed by male peacekeepers:

*You know in Abiyei [part of South Sudan] sometimes the situation is tough whereby you go out may be for two or three days and sometimes when it rains the vehicle gets stuck and you will be there struggling so women can be there but it's very hard sometimes and you will find our women they really complain.*

Again the issues of being out on patrols for long periods at a time was given as something that the women did not like and found very challenging. However, there was also the recognition that some women were more than capable “*Some women found long patrols challenging and others want to excuse themselves. But some women are strong she will be there even challenging you as a man.*”

At the end of the day, the problem does not lie with women, but with the recruitment, selection training and appropriate utilisation of both men and women. This is a leadership issue, not a gender issue. As these findings show, women clearly play an important role on peace missions, but this is based on gender difference and not gender equality.

### 5.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented some of the key findings in accordance with the research aim and objectives spelt out in chapter 1 of this study. Naturally not all the responses were cited above, as over 10

hours' worth of recordings were made. However, the overall themes were drawn from the interviews and the literature review and the most important responses were recorded within this chapter to emphasise the points made. In the following chapter, this data is analysed in more depth in relation to the theory and broader literature pertaining to women and peacekeeping.

## CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter engages with the debates on the value women add to peacekeeping. Analysis is done from a top down level, considering the gender sensitivity of planning and implementation of policies, and a bottom up analysis, which takes into account the real life experiences of women deployed on missions by the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army. An attempt is made to highlight the gap between the discourse advocating the contributions women make to peacekeeping (especially on the international level), and the reality women peacekeepers face, by showing the complex environment of military and security institutions and PKOs.

Accordingly, the first section discusses the training of peacekeepers and this is done separately for the police and military given that their roles and tasks differ. This is followed by a general discussion on the role of female peacekeepers, followed by an explanation as to why women remain under-represented on PKOs. These factors relate to masculinity within the two institutions, lack of recognition for gender difference and lack of proper gender training. Thereafter a section on women peacekeepers and their impact on human security is provided. Finally, this paper outlines a number of recommendations to the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army and identifies complex challenges which will continue to affect the operational effectiveness of its peacekeeping units.

### 6.2 Training of peacekeepers

In the last 20 years the nature of conflict and peacekeeping operations have changed significantly on a global scale. Before the 1990s United Nations PKOs were patterned after the Cold War model of monitoring cease fires and patrolling borders after inter-state wars (Berdal, 2008; Thurker, 2006; Fethestone, 1994; James, 1990). With the shift away from national security to that of human security and the threats posed by asymmetric intra-state warfare, the mandates of the current form of peacekeeping known as multi-dimensional peacekeeping has broadened. This now covers a variety of responsibilities such as assisting in the demobilisation of former fighters, training of local police forces and promoting economic and social development (Hanggi & Scherrer, 2008a; Lyytikäinen, 2007; Eide *et al.*, 2005)

Apart from this, the past two decades have witnessed an increased understanding of the gendered aspect of conflicts. In various parts of the world where war has occurred it has been observed that women and girls, men and boys have been vulnerable to SGBV and it is clear that these categories of people experience war differently. Further armed conflict also impacts on gender roles and gender relations. Rape has been used as a weapon of war, causing untold harm and dislocating entire communities. In the aftermath of such wars, women often have to take up the role of bread winners following the death of their husbands during war and children are forced into the labour force to complement the efforts of their mothers. Added to this, sexual violence in countries undergoing transition from war to peace persists. Evidence in Sudan and South Sudan show that women and girls are the most victims of rape, forced pregnancies and marriages (McNeish,2014; Trenholm et al,2011:219; Moser & Clerk,2001:8).

The current nature of conflict and PKOs therefore demonstrates the need for peacekeepers to undergo gender training if these peacekeepers are to perform the functions that they are deployed for, be it security, developmental roles or law enforcement. From the point of view of the UN, gender training is mandatory for all peacekeepers (Mackey, 2003). One therefore expects to see that countries contributing military and police personnel to United Nations PKOs which includes Zambia should ensure that gender training is part of UN peacekeeping training. This is one way in which gender mainstreaming is achieved in United Nations PKOs. However, in my interviews with former peacekeepers, gender training in Zambia is not afforded much prominence. In fact, the findings of this study show that there is no form of gender training at all, let alone gender training that peacekeepers undergo prior to deployment.

In this regard, all the police officers interviewed in this study except one stated that they did not undergo any form of training prior to departure to host countries. And yet it is a requirement that pre-deployment training should be conducted and this should consist of lessons on gender (Lyytikäinen, 2007:8). It was only upon arrival in host countries that police officers underwent an induction course organised by the UN (Lyytikäinen, 2007:9). On average this induction takes two weeks, but the gender component only takes a few hours. From this evidence one can argue that even though all officers stated that the topic of gender is part of the induction course it is not afforded much time.

Again, even though the peacekeepers stated that the induction course in general had adequate content, it is not clear to what extent these peacekeepers are oriented in gender issues. The likelihood that some officers may be ill equipped to deal with gender issues is there. With respect to the Zambia Police Service, only officers that are in the Victim Support Unit (which deals mainly with gender based violence) are well versed in issues of gender. Therefore, officers outside this unit and especially if they have not taken a specific interest in familiarising themselves with issues of gender, may not be in a position to understand the gender dynamics in peacekeeping missions because without adequate knowledge and practical experience, it is unlikely that one can do this (Mackey, 2003:220). This knowledge tends to rest with the gender advisers, which tend to be women. Hence, in this study, for example most of the female participants of the police served in this capacity. These gender advisers have a huge task of briefing all in-coming staff and often with little notice (Lyytikäinen, 2007:14).

What did emerge, is that gender lessons are presented at intervals and are conducted especially for women officers and these are usually organized by the NGOs in conjunction with the UN. This is important because without gender training, women cannot be expected to contribute in the manner expected of them. Female peacekeepers are recruited in peacekeeping in order to be able to engage more effectively with the local population, especially women and in so doing also improve the operational effectiveness of the mission (Simić 2010:1995). So it is important that these women peacekeepers are well informed on gender issues.

In general, it appears as if the police officers have more knowledge on gender issues than their colleagues in the military. This is because military training emphasised physical strength for both female and male peacekeepers. Interviews with former peacekeepers in the Zambia Army indicated that unlike their police counterparts they in fact do undergo pre-deployment training which takes place over a period of about three months. During this training peacekeeping personnel among other things are given information on the terrain of the host country as well as the mandate of the mission. However, apart from being gender neutral in the sense that both male and female personnel undergo the same training, it is clear that physical training is the most important part of this training. This was emphasised in the responses of most of the military personnel in this study. This is consistent

with other studies which show that peacekeeping training especially in the military takes the form of combat exercises and emphasises infantry combat (Sion, 2009:480) and focusses mainly on masculine combat roles (Sion,2009:480; Winslow,1997). The findings are also consistent with the findings of studies conducted on South African military peacekeepers (Heinecken, 2013:12; Alchin, 2014:70).

The training of peacekeepers in the Zambia Army therefore is not different from that which recruits undergo when joining the army. In both it is the physical aspect of the training which is considered most important and both males and females have to undergo the same training. This means that as far as the army is concerned there is no gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping training. It is about giving women equal opportunities to serve in the military, but there is little recognition and value attached to the unique roles and contributions that women can make except where gender is an impediment to men. For example, where men cannot search women or speak to women because of cultural constraints – then they are useful because they are women, not because they have special skills or abilities.

What was clear, is that in both the police and military women are not recruited based on the unique qualities that they have, but are employed on principles of gender equality. It is on the principles of gender equality that female peacekeepers have to meet the same standard of physical fitness as their male counterparts. As masculine traits are emphasised, women have to lay aside their feminine traits in order to become good police officers or soldiers, they have to conform to the masculine standards and culture of the military in terms of the values, norms and expected behaviour. This stance goes contrary to the aim of the UN. Through its policies the institution has called for gender equality, but it has also recognised gender difference. According to the DPKO (2010:6), “gender equality implies that the interest, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration recognising the diversity of different groups of men and women”. The policy also states that “equality does not mean that women and men will become the same” (DPKO, 2010:6).

Especially in the military, the emphasis placed on masculine traits both in the home country and in peacekeeping frustrates the calls to increase the number of women in peacekeeping as the unique ‘feminine’ contribution is not appreciated. Women cannot be expected to behave differently from

men considering that they are required to behave like men right from their recruitment, in their training, and how they are employed and even supported in the military. Everything is ‘gender’ neutral. If the rationale is to have more women in the military based on differential arguments in that they have a different world view and because of the way they have been socialised, which should enable them to make a unique contribution, then this is clearly obviated.

If this is true, then increasing women in peacekeeping will not improve the operational effectiveness of the mission by adding value, except where women are required because ‘their bodies’ are female and therefore accepted for cultural reasons. However getting the numbers right does not mean anything if those representing the numbers are not valued (Heinecken, 2009).

The emphasis on physical training in the military erodes the need for gender training. As stated above, military peacekeepers unlike police officers did not seem to display the knowledge of gender even though they stated that gender lessons were included in their pre-deployment training. Female soldiers especially displayed inadequate knowledge on gender issues. In fact one female soldier put it clearly when she said: *“I think I can’t say anything on gender because mainly we were looking at the terrain there in South Sudan, like roads and also the environment”*. This finding is consistent with the experiences of South African peacekeepers who stated that they had not received any specific training on gender (Heinecken, 2013:22). This shows that female military personnel, in particular female soldiers cannot be expected to handle matters of gender in PKOs. This again defeats the purpose of deploying female peacekeepers in PKOs. The training that peacekeepers undergo determines how useful they become in missions. And particularly for women, they can only fulfil their expected roles as stated in literature if the peacekeeping training they undergo prepares them to deal with sexual violence, or in terms of the gender related issues facing the local population. Clearly, for example, giving lectures on methods of contraception such as the use of condoms to women in Sudan, when their worth is measured in terms of their reproduction demonstrates the lack of gender awareness and the lack of understanding of the consequences of their actions on local women.



### 6.3 Women's unique contribution to peacekeeping

Interviews with peacekeepers in this study have reviewed that in general women peacekeepers perform the same roles as those performed by their male counterparts. In the police for instance women just like men are involved in building the capacity of the local police (UN, 2015; Lyytikäinen, 2007) and this is in accordance with international standards. Female peacekeepers are also involved in the protection of internally displaced persons around their IDPs or when they are going to fetch firewood in the case of women (Mooney, 2010:60) and in information gathering in host countries (Cordell, 2011:33). For the military both male and female peacekeepers are involved in conducting motorised patrols and in guard duties. Unlike police officers, the military personnel interviewed in this study did not attend to IDPs.

Yet, the reasons given to increase the number of women in PKOs is to enhance the operational effectiveness of the mission. This is done in three ways. Firstly, that women have a civilizing effect on men in the sense that men behave better in the presence of women (De Groot, 2001:37) secondly that women have easy access to the local population especially women because women are friendly and compassionate (Carey, 2001:53; Jennings, 2011), thirdly that women are better able to deal with cases of SGBV than their male counterparts (UNSCR, 1960; UNSCR 1888). It is important to access the relevance of these arguments in relation to the findings.

With regards to the first argument that female peacekeepers have a civilizing effect on men in the sense that male peacekeepers change their behaviour to the better in the presence of female peacekeepers, female peacekeepers never alluded to anything with regards to this. In fact when female participants saw this question on the questionnaire they could not even understand it and they were heard asking "how?" Questions similar to this suggest that male peacekeepers are the way they are, uninfluenced by the presence of women peacekeepers. Responses were heard from both male and female peacekeepers for instance, that the misbehaving of a peacekeeper whether male or female depends upon the character of each individual peacekeeper. Also that there are very strict UN protocols regulating the behaviour of peacekeepers and that punitive action will follow if these are violated. In this study, there was no evidence that men act differently when in the presence of female peacekeepers.

With regards to the second reason for the need to increase the number of female peacekeepers namely that female peacekeepers have easy access to the local population especially women, this was not verified. Female peacekeepers especially indicated that the greatest challenge they faced in deployment is access to the local population. A picture is obtained from the responses of peacekeepers which suggest that that the environment of peacekeeping is extremely dangerous to move in the community. Peacekeepers stated for instance that even going to the market to buy some food stuffs required them to go under escort and sometimes in the presence of fellow peacekeepers, because one could be attacked when going to the market. This proved challenging for female peacekeepers to gather information from members of the community. The experiences of South African peacekeepers is similar. Female peacekeepers stated that the environment is risky to their personal security and this fact was always at the back of their minds (Heinecken, 2013:16).

In general, it is difficult to move anyhow in a strange country which is subject to armed conflict because one is never sure about the security situation. It is not expected therefore that peacekeepers especially females in a foreign country are able to gather information as they are strangers. On top of this, being new in a country means that one has no knowledge of the language used in the local community. Language barriers prevent female peacekeepers from gathering information even in cases where these women have access to local populations. Peacekeepers cited language barriers as one of the challenges. Even if they are given interpreters they find it difficult to interact with members of the community as the translations are not always accurate and even the translator 'himself' can be treated with suspicion if he or she is of another race, culture or religion. Other studies involving personnel that have served in Sudan have come up with similar findings, indicating that the use of interpreters is unreliable in the sense that they may not be available as they are usually assigned to higher ranking officials, and are usually male so that when peacekeepers try to engage with the locals the truth does not prevail (Alchin, 2015:56; Heinecken, 2013:17).

Information gathering also depends upon the rapport that female peacekeepers create with local women. There is however no indication that this is created as it depends to a large extent on the informal contacts that peacekeepers have with members of the community. But peacekeeping

interaction with members of the community is usually formal, making it difficult for women to create that needed rapport. Furthermore, peacekeepers are sometimes not well received by local populations on suspicion that these peacekeepers are spies for some countries such as the US. Such responses were heard from peacekeepers interviewed in this study. Along these lines it was difficult for them to interact with members of the community in Sudan which is hostile towards Americans.

What this study has shown is that the women peacekeepers interviewed did not have easy access to members of the community, even though they all stated that this access is vital because the culture of the local population does not allow men to interact with women. However, being able to interact with local women because men are unable to do so means nothing about the quality of these interactions. Worse still this study shows female military peacekeepers have less interaction with local women. Female military peacekeepers stated that the only time they had access to local women was during sporting activities and this occurred once or twice a month. In these interactions local women did not discuss matters of security to female peacekeepers, probably because they did not see any need for this and also that because these interactions were informal, they did not involve interpreters making communication between local women and peacekeepers difficult.

The third argument calling for the increase in the number of women peacekeepers says that women peacekeepers are better respondents of SGBV. According to UN it is important to increase the number of women peacekeepers because sexual violence against women is increasingly being used as a weapon of war and that there is a growing realisation that victims of war are usually women and children even though men and boys are also recipients of violence (UNSCR 1960; UNSCR 1888). It is argued that the ability to respond better to victims of SGBV enables the entire unit to improve the security situation of the host country because these victims of war would find it easy to get psychological support from their fellow women (Mackay,2001). It is also assumed that because women are more sensitive than men that they are better able to deal with victims of SGBV.

However, the argument that women peacekeepers are better respondents than men is inconsistent with the reality experienced by women peacekeepers from Zambia. Firstly, the argument assumes that women peacekeepers *assuredly* deal with victims of SGBV. To begin with, female peacekeepers interviewed in this study did not state that they had incidences where local women

were reporting SGBV cases to them. They stated that all they could do in most cases was to sensitise women on the need to take precautions once one becomes a victim of SGBV and how to go about reporting such cases. Not one peacekeeper actually said that they had to deal with such a case. Peacekeepers stated that they could only hear about rumours suggesting that a woman in such and such a village had become a victim of SGBV, but these local women never came out in open to report such cases to female peacekeepers.

Peacekeepers indicated that SGBV cases in host countries are usually handled with secrecy because the victim usually falls prey to discrimination from members of the community. South African studies show similar findings. One such study shows that of the 50 women peacekeepers that were interviewed none of them had to deal with a case involving SGBV (Alchin, 2015:58). This is surprising considering the high incidences of rape especially in Sudan (Darfur). However a discussion on masculinities in Africa has shown that hegemonic masculinities in this particular continent are associated with violence against women which includes sexual violence (Morrell et al., 2012; Morrell & Ritcher, 2004; Morrell, 1998). That hegemonic masculinities are difficult to change is evident from the fact when victims of sexual violence (which in most cases are women) report having been abused, they become recipients of blame and are subject to stigmatisation. The other study also shows that local women did not report any cases of SGBV to female peacekeepers as they did not trust these female peacekeepers and even if they did report, the female peacekeepers were not trained to deal with these cases and would therefore not know how to assist the victim(s) (Heinecken, 2013:18).

Again, while some female peacekeepers in the police stated that they had to deal with cases of SGBV once these cases were in the hands of the local police or other NGOs operating in the mission area, none of them stated that they personally came face to face with victims of sexual violence. Female peacekeepers from the military did not deal with any case of SGBV. When referring to SGBV military peacekeepers talked of this in the context of the military itself and not to do with the local women. They stated that cases of SGBV among military personnel in PKOs were dealt by high ranking officers. Further the ability of female peacekeepers to address cases of SGBV depends on the training received and the availability of special units responsible for addressing these cases

(Cordell, 2011; Lopes, 2011). The latter is true of the Zambia Army in which gender training is seriously lacking.

The last contribution women are said to make to peacekeeping is that they are inspirational to the local population, especially local women and that this can create an environment where lessons of gender equality and non-discrimination can be appreciated. This can also encourage them to take part in security sector reform (Dharmapuri, 2013:13; Olsson 2000:9). In this regard, reference is often made to the all-female police unit which was deployed in Liberia. The presence of these women saw an increase in the number of local women wanting to join the Liberian national police by three times (Hober, 2014:42; Carvajal, 2010:4). The findings of this study are consistent with this observation as many responses were heard from both male and female peacekeepers that local women including men were inspired to see women in the army and the police. Comments were heard from both men and women in the local population giving an indication that the presence of female peacekeepers is inspirational to local women. However this reaction seems not to mean anything in line with gender equality. Female respondents in this study stated that they were cautious of the things that they taught the local women because of the patriarchal culture of the local population.

South African studies have also shown that local women were not inspired by female peacekeepers to the extent of wanting to become independent and equal to men (Alchin, 2015:60) and that it was “difficult for female peacekeepers to engage with and empower the local women” (Heinecken, 2013:19). The patriarchal tendencies in the local population are so strong that to deviate from them is equivalent to a taboo. This is why in most cases the lessons of female peacekeepers tended to focus more on issues of personal hygiene, how to take care of children and self-reliance – lessons that do not significantly alter gender relations. Furthermore, some local women who may be inspired to go beyond the confinement of tradition really face the difficulty of putting this inspiration into practice because the utilisation of women in non-traditional roles depends upon the political will of the state. In this case, this will is lacking making gender equality an ideal difficult to achieve.

The above arguments show that operational effectiveness arguments are context specific and that although women could make a unique contribution numerous factors mitigate against this particularly in conflict situations such as Sudan (particularly in Darfur) and South Sudan. Operational effectiveness arguments should also take into consideration that while women and girls may constitute the greatest number of victims in war torn countries, these categories of people may also help to perpetrate violence as in cases where they have been used by rebels to transport food and weapons. However, this is not to suggest that women peacekeepers do not in any way fulfil useful roles, but that it is not to the extent generally argued in the literature advocating the value of women in peacekeeping. However, there is absolute consensus that there is great value in having gender mixed squads and platoons where men are not able to engage with women. However, this has little to do with female peacekeeper's unique abilities or character traits, but because of their sex and cultural connotations associated with this.

Even so, there was a feeling that missions can benefit from having more females, particularly in the police which perform more constabulary roles than the military. In this regard troop contributing countries to peace missions face a number of obstacles in supplying enough women to these missions. One is that women make up a small percentage of operational forces in their home countries in the police and military. Other reasons include family considerations that female personnel have to take into account and the dangers associated with peacekeeping (Hudson, 2010; Dharmapuri, 2013), and the inability to meet the requirements such as being able to drive a manual shift 4x4 motor vehicle in the case of police personnel (Bastick & de Torres, 2010:22). These reasons came out strongly in this study, especially in terms of the selection of police officers and in terms of the military, the dangers associated with the mission.

The other reason for women's under representation in PKOs relates to family considerations that female peacekeepers have to make. The point was made that it is easy for a man to go for peacekeeping because the children would be safe with the mother unlike a situation where a woman leaves the children with the father. The point here is that the care that children receive from their mother is much better than the one they receive from their father. Men therefore are more likely to go for peacekeeping than women. In some cases the woman may want to take the risk of leaving the children with her husband, but some husbands may not allow their wives to leave the children

behind. It follows therefore that women have to get permission from their husbands before making a decision to leave for peacekeeping mission. On the contrary men don't need to get permission from their wives because the responsibility to look after children does not fall within their sphere, especially in patriarchal societies such as Zambia.

The other concern that came strongly from women is that leaving the husband behind puts the marriage at risk. Women felt that they are more self-controlled than men, and that it is easy for a woman to stay faithful in the absence of her husband, but the opposite is not true. Men are far likely than women to look for other partners in the absence of their spouses. Women stated that some marriages have ended up in divorce in cases where women went for peacekeeping leaving their husbands behind. So instead of putting their marriage at risk women would rather stay at home. In the case of women police officers, they would not even bother to apply for peacekeeping knowing that the stakes are high.

Finally the other reason given for women's under representation in PKOs is that women find it difficult to meet the requirements. Some women do not even bother to apply for peacekeeping because they think they cannot meet the requirements. Male officers therefore have a high chance of serving in peacekeeping missions than their female counterparts.

All the above factors make it difficult for the number of female peacekeepers to increase significantly. It is expected that a small number of women that make it to PKOs should be properly utilised, but these peacekeepers face challenges that affects their utilisation.

#### **6.4 Challenges facing female peacekeepers**

Even though women are able to make a unique contribution to peace operations, in reality these contributions are not seen. This is because women face certain challenges which hinder them from contributing to peacekeeping missions. This study has identified three reasons why women in the police and the military cannot contribute to peacekeeping in the ways advocated by the UN and supporting literature. These link up with the theoretical arguments postulated in Chapter two in terms of the masculine nature of peacekeeping/warfighting, the delicate balance between gender

equality and valuing gender difference and the lack of recognition that the world of men and women differ and that this necessitates a concerted effort to place gender on the 'agenda'.

Literature challenging the argument that women can make unique contributions to peacekeeping often cites the masculine nature within the military and peacekeeping environment which prevents them from doing so (Simić, 2010; Whitworth, 2004). These settings are both characterised as male domains and are overshadowed by a hegemonic masculine culture which is especially prevalent in military training (Lopes, 2011). As the findings of this study indicate, even though women stated that the physical training was manageable they had to put in extra effort just to be able to meet the standards. Unfortunately in the police, and especially in the military, physical strength is emphasised and this means that most male personnel considered women inferior. Physical strength therefore is considered by both men and women (especially in the military) as a necessary quality to be a good soldier, and by implication a good peacekeeper given the nature of their duties. Studies on masculinities and femininities in Africa have reviewed that masculine traits of bravado and violence have acquired the status of hegemony and this means that feminine traits which are associated with women are subordinated, and because in the military masculine traits are highly valued and coveted as has been shown above, women personnel are always considered of little value.

This means that women come under enormous performance pressure to meet the physical requirements to be able to be judged as capable soldiers or police women given that most of the duties performed on peacekeeping missions are masculine in nature. Duties such as patrols require physical endurance, which many women lack when compared with men. In fact, military personnel stated that women face a challenge when it comes to patrols as peacekeepers would sometimes stay in the bush for several days. This is especially a challenge for women, in terms of the weight they have to carry as well as their personal hygiene. This means that many women prefer to stay and work on base, but this causes resentment among the men. However, it is out in the field and when engaging with the local community where women are seen to add the most value. However, when they do go out on patrols, they are expected to act and be like men and conform to the hegemonic masculinity associated with military culture.



This is also one of the critiques of liberal feminism; that this leads to a ‘degendering’, or to diluted femininity (Carreiras, 2008; Goldstein, 2004:41). Women are socialised into the masculine culture of the police and military from the moment they enter into it. From the beginning, starting with basic training women state that they need to perform like men and in the mission they have to do the same in order to fit into the male environment. If they cannot, they are considered weak and seen to be weakening the police or the army. According to Malešević (2010:290), this “dominance of masculinism diminishes the value of unique feminine qualities such as greater nurturing abilities, better communication skills, propensity towards non-violent resolution of conflicts and greater sociability”.

Radical feminists claim that the only way to change this is to have a critical mass (approximately 30 per cent) of women in the military who are able to change and challenge this hegemonic masculine culture (Olsson, 2000:9). However, as this is embedded in military culture, few women in the Zambia Army and police challenge this. This is because women themselves are not a homogenous group or ‘cohesive force’, and most prefer to cooperate with men, rather than challenge them. On top of this, once women peacekeepers show signs of femininity, they are pointed out as weak, lazy, or incompetent, not only by men, but by women too. This is not only true in units with a minority of women, but also in military settings consisting of all-women. For instance during the all-female Police Unit deployed to Liberia (often cited for its achievements in gender equality), Sergeant in Command Monia Gusain (a woman) often referred to the Indian women making up the force as “my men” (Carvajal, 2010). If the reason for having more women in peacekeeping operations is because they can make a difference as women and because they can infuse a gender perspective, one has to ask whether this can be achieved under current circumstances.

In order for gender mainstreaming to be achieved there must be a recognition of gender difference. However, this study shows that gender difference is not recognised especially in the police and the army. Feminine characteristics are not valued, or utilised in peacekeeping, except where it comes to cultural restrictions. This is because the feminine traits that characterise most women are not recognised as having a positive impact on mission success. Even the police, who receive more gender sensitivity training felt that female peacekeepers are not as good as male peacekeepers

because they lack masculine traits such as bravery and physical strength. A lack of recognition of feminine traits cannot lead to gender mainstreaming.

As both police and military adopt a liberal 'equal rights' feminist approach to gender integration, it requires that one's gender has to be discarded. However, it is only women who are expected to forget their 'gender' and should replace it with that of men. Responses were heard from both male and female personnel that in the military there is nothing like being 'a man or woman'. Everyone is expected to behave like a soldier, but to behave like a soldier is to behave like a man and to be able to do what men do. This places women under enormous pressure to act, behave and be like men to be accepted as professional police officers and soldiers.

The overwhelming emphasis on gender equality, without considering the gendered dynamic within the military and the police, has come at the expense of valuing gender diversity. Therefore, when women have been included in the military especially, they have not become soldiers equal to men. They instead face constant pressure to be equal to men. These women therefore cannot be expected to make a positive contribution to peacekeeping while they strive to act and are expected to act and behave like men.

One of the reasons why women are expected to be 'be like men' is because the peacekeeping context is hostile. Interactions with the local population were difficult because the security situation of the host country could not allow the peacekeepers to move freely. Besides the security risks in Sudan, even the local population was hostile towards the peacekeepers and there is a low level of trust between them and the locals. It has been pointed out that scholars advocating women's value with regard to their contact with local women should exercise caution especially with the changing dynamics of warfare. Local women have a shifting status from being victims of war to being perpetrators of violence, either personally or instrumentally (Karamé, 2001). For instance women and children have been used to offer support to Taliban forces in Afghanistan. These women and children have been used by these forces to transport weaponry, to gather information concerning their enemies and in some cases they have volunteered to carry out suicide attacks against innocent people. Not all women therefore can be considered victims of war, some of them can put the lives of female peacekeepers at risk.

All the above shows that the impact of women peacekeepers on human security of the host country is minimal. While there is no indication in this study that the presence of female peacekeepers worsens the human security of the host nation, it is clear that women peacekeepers can only do what the operational environment of peacekeeping allows them to do in trying to improve the security of the local population, and more specifically women and children. This is influenced by the mandate under which they are deployed and the tasks for which they are trained.

### **6.5 Lack of proper gender training**

What this study has shown is that women peacekeepers are not trained to perform gender specific roles in that their training is gender neutral. Few understand why gender matters, or the gender dynamics of the host countries. Military personnel especially lack gender knowledge and so they cannot be expected to understand the gender dimensions of war. With the police gender training is also lacking in the sense that there is no peacekeeping training for people selected to go for PKOs. If women peacekeepers are to make a positive contribution to PKOs it is necessary that they are trained in issues of gender. However gender training among peacekeepers is lacking.

Peacekeepers from the Zambia Police do not undergo any form of training before leaving for peacekeeping missions and while they undergo an induction course upon their arrival in the mission area the lesson on gender is not exhaustive considering the fact that many other aspects need to be talked about within the limited time allocated. Most police women deal with local women and therefore an adequate understanding of gender issues is necessary. With regards to the military, there is no indication that gender is taken seriously. Female soldiers especially seemed to lack an understanding of gender issues and yet these same peacekeepers are expected to make a positive contribution to PKOs. Without proper gender training it is unlikely that they will make a positive contribution to the peace operations, or improve the operational effectiveness of the unit. Nor does it seem to enhance the human security of the local population whom they are said to protect.

The other aspect that needs to be changed is to focus on the value of women during recruitment. The value of women in security and defence institutions is under estimated and this is true of the Zambia Police and the Zambia Army. This is why women still remain under represented in these

institutions. Women should be recruited for their value and this value does not only lie in their physical strength. When women join the army or the police their strength lies in their voices as women and ability to bring forth different perspectives on the effect of war on society. Women should be valued because of what they are capable of doing and not because they behave or act as men. For instance, most police peacekeepers from Zambia serve as gender officers in peacekeeping missions and this entails dealing with women and children. While this is a noble job, sentiments from some peacekeepers indicate that they do not appreciate this. In their eyes, this job is inferior to other tasks.

Most male peacekeepers consider themselves better than women precisely for one thing: men fare well in duties that require physical strength and physical endurance. The researcher has also personally observed that some officers in the Zambia Police Service think women are more suitable to work under the victim support unit which focusses on issues of gender based violence and offences committed by and against children. Male officers who work under this section are considered either misplaced, or lacking masculine traits. It must be stressed that women have a positive role in peacekeeping and the value of their role should not be judged based on the tasks and behaviour of male peacekeepers (Hudson, 2005a:112).

The other aspect which needs to be reconsidered is the liberal equal rights approach that the military and the police take in recruiting men and women. This approach merely ensures that women and men are given equal opportunity of employment. The focus here is on numbers and not on gender difference. When this happens, women will be expected to act and behave according to the dominant culture of the military and the police. This becomes unfair for women because to meet the male standard is a huge task for many of them.

With the current state of affairs women are prevented from making contributions that they are expected to make to PKOs as the masculine environment of the military and the heralding of negative hegemonic masculinities continues even in PKOs forcing women to go through a process of 'degendering'. Their inability to cope undermines the value of women, but women also undermine their own value. What is needed is a new peacekeeping identity that embraces both

masculine and feminine qualities, or attributes. These attributes are vital in a multi-dimensional and dynamic peacekeeping environment.

## 6.6 Conclusion

Many calls have been made by the UN and other scholars to increase the number of women peacekeepers in PKOs. The justification for this is that women make a special contribution to peacekeeping missions by enhancing the operational effectiveness of the unit, and improving the human security of the host state. This study has explored the experiences of women peacekeepers from both the police and the military right from peacekeeping training up to the challenges that women face while in mission. The aim was to see whether the essentialist claims made about the value of women peacekeepers in the literature actually goes along with what women peacekeepers' experience. This was necessary because empirical evidence supporting the claim that women make special contribution is lacking, especially with regards to the deployment of women on the African continent.

In addition to this, this study also set out to establish why is it that women are still under represented in peacekeeping missions despite the commitment to gender equality, and to evaluate whether women are able to make a unique contribution to peacekeeping based on feminine traits. In order to answer this question, it was important to explore the experiences of female peacekeepers right from peacekeeping training to the role that they play in PKOs all the way to the challenges they face while deployed. By taking a qualitative approach to this study, exploratory research was conducted to further the understanding of women and security with regard to the training they undergo, the role they play in mission, and the challenges they face when deployed and which prevents them from performing their roles.

This study has shown that there are a number of gaps between the role of female peacekeepers as advocated in literature and their actual contributions to PKOs. Women's actual contributions are determined by their experiences from peacekeeping training to their encounters in the hostile host environment. With regards to the contribution that women are said to make in peacekeeping such as increased interaction with the local population, community based intelligence, ability to address SGBV and enhancing gender equality and non- discrimination, the findings of this study review

mixed results. In this regard it was found that women's gender does not guarantee them easy access to local women, except in specific contexts where this is culturally defined. Added to this is the fact that peacekeepers are strangers in host countries and therefore have limited knowledge of the local environment and as such they can only have less interactions with members of the community.

Similarly because local populations view peacekeepers with suspicion, it is difficult for women peacekeepers to gather intelligence. Intelligence gathering can only be effective were the two parties have confidence in each other, but in this case there is no confidence in peacekeepers on the part of members of the community including women. This makes it difficult for local populations to give information to peacekeepers. Interviews in this study also show that female peacekeepers especially from the military are not in a position to handle security issues in the sense that their training does not go beyond basic military training. Interviews with female police officers also showed that they do not have skills that are sophisticated enough to enable them to gather intelligence in hostile environments. This finding correlates with that of South African studies which stresses that the lack of sufficient training of military peacekeepers makes them incapable of handling security issues (Alchin, 2015:95).

The study agrees with Alchin (2015:95) that the assumption that women can improve the interaction with locals and that they are helpful in intelligence gathering are "hazy, at worst non-existent". This study has reviewed that female military personnel as well as men for that matter only had contacts with local populations during socialising activities especially sports. However, there was no information exchanges to do with security between peacekeepers and community members during these interactions. Female police officers' interactions with local women also show that they did not receive any intelligence from these local women. Their conversations also bordered on issues of hygiene and family life. The training of peacekeepers also show that the gender aspect is lacking and therefore women peacekeepers were not as effective as expected in the handling of gender concerns.

In this regard, one should not expect that "the simple act of being a woman will transcend the economic, cultural, linguistic and possibly religious, racial or other ethnic differences" (Jennings 2011:9). Like other studies (Alchin, 2015; Heineken, 2013), improved training of peacekeepers

and increased knowledge of local dynamics is here suggested. With regards to women's ability to address SGBV interviews with former peacekeepers review that they rarely dealt with such cases. Female military peacekeepers especially never dealt with cases of SGBV, while female police peacekeepers rarely dealt with them and this is consistent with South African findings (Alchin, 2015:78; Heinecken, 2013:18). Moreover even if women peacekeepers had to deal often with such case, the lack of training on how to handle SGBV would still make them irrelevant as they do not know the specific security needs of women in this regard. Due to some factors discussed above, women peacekeepers found it difficult to have information on cases of gender based violence, save for rumours.

So what does this mean? By implication these findings show that because women have to conform to masculine norms and values, their ability to make a difference 'as women' continues to be undermined and undervalued. This affects their optimal utilisation and ability to improve operational effectiveness as well as the ideals of infusing a gender perspective in peace operations as espoused by UNSC Resolution 1325. As Heinecken (2013:23) states, the manner in gender mainstreaming is currently implemented is mere rhetoric because it "is out of touch with reality, is ideologically driven, and undermining operational effectiveness". Indeed a new approach must be used to improve the capacity of female peacekeepers else their value will remain unappreciated. This calls for not only the inclusion of more women in peacekeeping, but the need to recognise and value femininity as an equivalent strength to masculinity in peace operations. Again, "the conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity should explicitly acknowledge the possibility of democratising gender relations, of abolishing power differentials and not just of reproducing hierarchy" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:853). Only when this is achieved, will women peacekeepers be able to enhance operational success and make a meaningful contribution to addressing the security concerns of women and girls who happen to be the majority of victims in areas affected by armed conflict.

Finally, on gender equality and non-discrimination and the ability of female peacekeepers to change perceptions of gender relations and gender equality among the local population (Dharmapuri, 2013:13; Odanović, 2010:74), this is disputed by the findings of this study. This is because patriarchy is dominant in host societies and where these were challenged, it created hostility

especially in countries like Sudan and South Sudan, where the oppression and violence against women is high (CARE, 2015; Kim et al, 2007:359). With patriarchy being the defining feature of these societies, the presence of few women cannot change perceptions of gender relations and gender equality. In this regard, it may be more beneficial to train male peacekeepers in gender sensitivity training in order for them to create an awareness of why gender inequality is detrimental to them, to women and society at large. Placing this responsibility on a few women can never achieve this. However, at the same time it is important that host societies see that women are capable of serving in roles that they consider reserved for men to break existing stereotypes. To enable this, more needs to be done by national police and militaries and the UN to address the organisational factors that undermine their ability to function as equals.

In this regard, this study has identified a number of challenges affecting the utilisation of female peacekeepers in PKOs. It has reviewed that the masculine environment in the military and the police is carried over to PKOs, and prevents women from contributing to PKOs as expected. Most of the duties done outside the base are masculine, duties which require physical strength and physical endurance and this a challenge for women. There is also a lack of recognition for gender difference so that there is no appreciation that both masculine and feminine traits contribute equally to operational success. This is because there is a tendency to do away with one's gender when one joins the military institution. For instance women have to 'dilute' their femininity.

When femininity is diluted the purpose of employing women become defeated because the very qualities that should be the motivation for increasing the number of women in the military are suppressed (Carreiras, 2008). This goes contrary to the UN's aim of valuing women's differential traits as a means to an end – which is increasing the operational effectiveness of the mission. Women will only make a positive contribution in peacekeeping if it is recognised that women are equal but different and that they can improve the operational effective of the mission in line with their capabilities (Heinecken: 2013:11).

However, the shift towards a more masculine form of peace enforcement tends to reinforce the value of masculine traits and especially the military which does not have sufficient flexibility to deploy forces with the right gender mix for the right operational situation. Because everything in



the military is supposedly 'gender neutral', the force structure does not allow for a situation in which women can be deployed separately and for specific tasks. Indeed, women should be trained and deployed in such a way as to perform the tasks in which they are considered to be effective (Heinecken, 2013:23). As this study has shown, this is not taking place. This has led Hudson (2000:12) to believe that the "prospects of an equal partnership between men and women in peacekeeping are slim if present conditions of instability prevail".

To conclude, this study has broadened our understanding of women and peacekeeping. It has shown that taken for granted assumptions with regard to the utilisation of women are based on scanty evidence. This study has shown that the experiences of women in the police and military right from recruitment have to assimilate the masculine culture of these institutions. The other contribution that this study has made to the theory regarding women and peacekeeping is that it substantiates the often cited role of hegemonic masculinity which undermines femininity within the military. This study showed that feminine qualities are considered weak and undesirable while masculine qualities are considered strong and desirable. Masculine qualities befits a warrior profile and this remains the dominant value system even in peace operations. The implication of this is that feminine qualities which should improve the operational effectiveness of the peacekeeping unit and the human security of the host state are undermined due to the overwhelming emphasis on gender equality which focuses on numbers and not gender difference.

This study has also reviewed that women do not make the best peacekeepers contrary to widely held assumptions. Equally men are also not best peacekeepers. On the part of women, they do not use their feminine qualities either because of ignorance or fear of being ridiculed by their male counterparts and because of this, their presence often does not benefit operational success or the host populations they are expected to serve and defend. Men and women have different attributes and these attributes should complement each other. Women should not be included in peacekeeping just to have their feminine qualities exchanged for masculine ones. Without appreciating the two qualities no one becomes the best peacekeeper.

## 6.7 Recommendations

There are a number of areas that warrant further research given the limited scope of this study. This study was limited to the experience and perceptions of women and men in the Zambia Police Service and the Zambia Army. It is therefore important to explore more experiences of other women who previously served in other host countries as other challenges unique to those host countries may surface. This may help in advancing future gender training curricula, and furthermore, could provide more cases which may be used for comparative analysis.

With specific reference to the Zambian case, both the police and military, the recommendation is that both male and female peacekeepers should be adequately trained on the importance of gender in peace operations across the entire spectrum. By this I mean not only in terms of addressing issues of gender inequality, but how gender affects human security. In addition a more concerted effort should be made to recognise and value gender difference in order to improve the optimal utilisation of women. While women should be given equal opportunity of employment, it must be recognised that they are different from men in terms of the specific strengths that they have. Women should be trained and deployed in such a way that their strengths will be fully utilised and femininity need not be diluted. This implies that the masculine culture in the police and military institutions must be deconstructed even as more women are being included in these institutions and in peacekeeping missions.

While it is difficult to change patriarchal tendencies in host countries, one expects that personnel working for the UN should not be gender biased and that they, as well as men serving in the military and police must be aware of how gender influences peace operations and to actively engage with this. The recommendation is that gender sensitivity training be provided to all actors involved in multi-national interagency peace operations. Further men and women must fight against policies that fuel violent hegemonic masculinities and men especially, should examine the way they contribute to the suffering experienced by women in society and how they disadvantage women in institutions such as the military and the police. This will enable the various actors to act collectively in creating awareness of the negative effect that gender inequality holds for peace, security and development.

In terms of future research, one hardly comes across any literature relating to the perceptions of the local populations in the host states on how they perceive peacekeepers and whether this is gendered. More research on how the local population experiences their interaction with male and female peacekeepers can be hugely beneficial in improving their ability to deal with the broader human security challenges these countries affected by armed conflict face.

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## APPENDIX 1: INSTITUTIONAL PERMISSION (ZAMBIA ARMY)



Army Headquarters  
Arakan Barracks  
P O Box 31931  
Lusaka - Zambia  
Tel: 260-211- 261157  
Fax: 260-211- 261157

Trg 301/8

Constable Fredrick MUBITA  
Westwood Police Station  
P O Box 31449  
**LUSAKA**

15 January 2015

### **REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS WITH MILITARY OFFICERS/SOLDIERS**

1. Reference is made to your letter of 7 January 2015, over the above captioned subject matter. We acknowledge receipt of your letter in which you are requesting for permission to conduct interviews with military officers/soldiers.
2. This serves to inform you that authority is granted and you are to contact the United Nations Liaison Directorate at Zambia Army Headquarters Arakan Barracks for further coordination.
3. Thank you.

  
**R M MKAMANGA**, *psc DFS*  
Colonel  
For Army Commander



## APPENDIX 2: INSTITUTIONAL PERMISSION (ZAMBIA POLICE)

31

### THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH – FREDRICK MUBITA

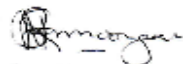
Reference is made to the above captioned matter.

Madam, we are in receipt of a letter from the above named person who is a student at Stellenbosch University in Cape Town, South Africa pursuing a Masters Degree in Sociology.

He is requesting to conduct interview with a total number of 20 police personnel (male and female) from the Zambia Police Service who previously served as peacekeepers.

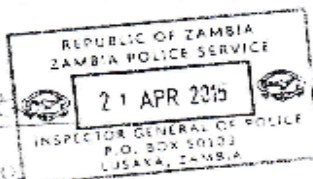
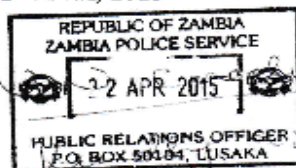
Forwarded to you for your consideration and approval.

Attached herewith is a questionnaire.

  
Rae Hamonga

**DEPUTY POLICE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER**

21<sup>ST</sup> APRIL, 2015



*the letter is  
being with his request*

### **APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

- 1 .Where did you serve in peacekeeping and for how long?
2. What was your motivation for volunteering to serve as a peacekeeper?
3. What kind of training did you undergo in preparation for peacekeeping?
4. Was this training involving both men and women at the same time?
5. Where there any lessons on gender?
6. What was your role as a peacekeeper on a daily basis?
7. How different was your role from that of male/female peacekeepers.
8. What are the challenges that you faced in peacekeeping?
9. How did these challenges affect male and female peacekeepers?
10. Was there such thing as sexual harassment? (Asked to women only).
11. Would you recommend that there should be more female peacekeepers in the mission and if yes or no why.
12. Given chance would you love to serve as a peacekeeper again?